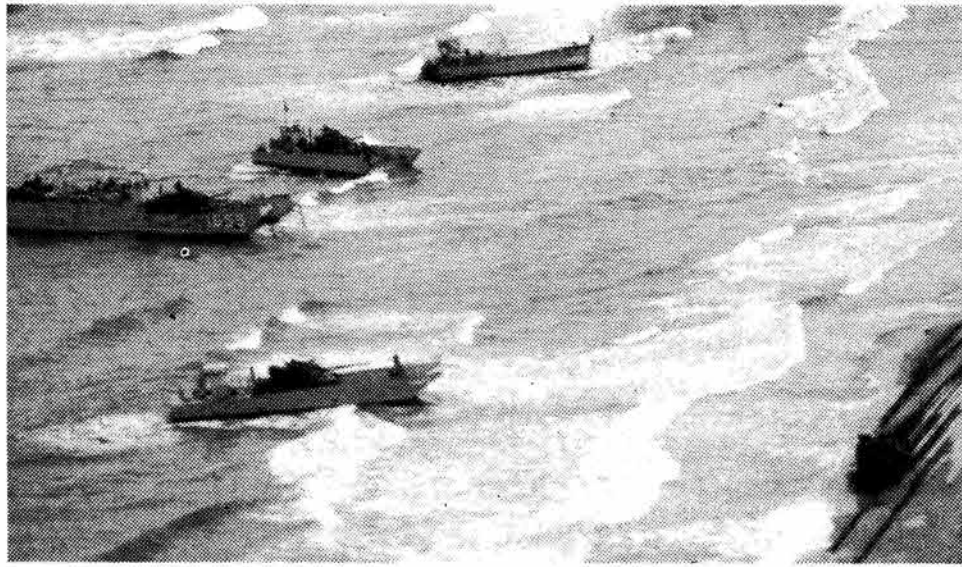


Reagan official raises sending GIs to Nicaragua

Since Washington's May 1 declaration of a national emergency and imposition of an economic embargo against Nicaragua, the U.S. government has taken further steps to escalate its war in Central America. These include the open threat to send in U.S. soldiers and the signing of a "mutual defense" treaty with the government of Honduras.

On May 23, Secretary of State George Shultz became the first top Reagan administration official to explicitly raise the pros-



U.S. maneuvers off Honduran coast. Secretary of State George Shultz recently raised possibility of sending U.S. soldiers to fight Washington's war in Nicaragua.

EDITORIAL

pect of the direct use of U.S. combat troops against Nicaragua.

Warning those in Congress who are still hesitant about voting for aid for the U.S.-organized counterrevolutionary bands, called *contras*, Shultz said, "But by refusing to help the freedom fighters, even with humanitarian aid, they are hastening the day when the threat will grow and when we will be faced with an agonizing choice about the use of American combat troops." ("Freedom fighters" is what Reagan calls the National Guardsmen of Nicaragua's former dictatorship, who are the backbone of the *contra* forces.)

Shultz also noted that some of the congressional critics of the administration's Nicaragua policy say "they would favor the

military option if all else fails and a real threat comes."

Two days earlier, the White House took another step along the road of direct intervention. Reagan and Honduran president Roberto Suazo Córdova issued a joint communiqué saying that, "In the case of an armed attack against Honduras, the United States will . . . support in a timely and effective manner the Government of Honduras in its efforts to defend its sovereignty

and territorial integrity against Communist aggression."

Both governments, said Reagan, share "serious concern over the threat to the entire region posed by the Communist, Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and its Cuban and Soviet supporters."

This stands things on their head.

The real threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Honduras and the en-

Continued on Page 6

Youth rally pledges antiwar fight

BY HARRY RING

CHICAGO — Solidarity with the people of Central America and South Africa was the theme of a cheering, chanting rally held here May 25. It was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance in conjunction with its 25th national convention held here this Memorial Day weekend.

The rally of 450 heard a representative of the Nicaraguan Women's movement, a Salvadoran trade unionist, and a representative of South Africa's African National Congress.

YSA National Executive Committee member Laura Garza spoke for the organization, pledging continued solidarity to these movements and vowing that the YSA would redouble its efforts in building a strong movement in this country against Washington's war in Central America and its complicity with South African apartheid.

The rally, which also celebrated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the organization, was cochaired by YSA leaders Cathy Sedwick of San Jose, California, and Mark Curtis of Birmingham, Alabama.

Sedwick described the attack against the San Jose YSA and SWP being waged by right-wing Vietnamese exiles enraged by the solidarity of the socialists with the Vietnamese revolution.

She urged nationwide support for the united front being carried on in defense of the democratic rights of San Jose socialists.

Annette Kouri spoke for the Young Socialist Organizing Committee of Canada. The organizing committee is in solidarity with the Canadian Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire, a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. She assailed the hypocrisy of the Canadian government in posturing as a propeace force in the hemisphere while actually complicit with Washington's Central American war.

Rashaad Ali, a leader of the Socialist

Workers Party, who was in Philadelphia the days immediately after the police bombing attack against the predominantly Black organization, MOVE, discussed the racist motives for that assault.

Neo Mnumzana of the African National Congress, saluted the Young Socialist Alliance as playing "a very important role" in helping to promote solidarity with liberation struggles worldwide.

Declaring his organization's support to the Nicaraguan people against U.S. aggression, he charged that Reagan would like to see Nicaragua "driven back to the age of slavery."

Focusing on Washington's complicity with the South African apartheid system, Mnumzana cited a 1960s confidential memorandum by Henry Kissinger, quoting it as declaring that "the security of United States interests in Africa" depends on the continued survival of apartheid.

This, Mnumzana declared, "very pre-

cisely revealed the relationship between the U.S. military-industrial complex and apartheid."

He pointed with satisfaction to the steadily growing strength of the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa, declaring it a gain for the world liberation struggle.

"When socialist Cuba took the decision to go socialist," he said, "that was a victory for our struggle. And when the Nicaraguan people, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, dislodged and destroyed the dynasty of Somoza, that was a victory for the people of South Africa."

"And these advances for the South African revolution are advances in the world revolutionary process."

In a strong plea for the unity of the world forces fighting for peace and social progress, he declared, "The time is long overdue for us to close ranks."

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United escalates union-busting

BY TOM O'BRIEN

CHICAGO — The May 17 strike of United Airline pilots, organized by the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), entered a new phase over the Memorial Day weekend as negotiations broke down over a back-to-work agreement.

The union is demanding that striking pilots be allowed to return to their old positions and assignments; that 570 newly hired pilots who have refused to scab be allowed to return to work; and that flight attendants not be penalized for honoring the pilots' picket lines (at least 90 percent of the 10,000 members of the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) who work for United have honored the picket lines).

United maintains that it has already promised more desirable assignments to the scabs as a reward for their strike breaking, and that they should be allowed to keep these assignments regardless of seniority. In addition, several months before the strike, United hired 500 new pilots and pushed them through a rushed training program, publicly announcing its plans to use them as strike breakers. These pilots, in their overwhelming majority, have refused to scab. Only six of them have been flying. United now does not want to keep them on, although the company admits it needs over 1,000 new pilots to meet its expansion plans. (Some of the newly hired pilots have stated that their training was not adequate, which means that the company is willing to put air-passenger safety on the line in its attempt to weaken the union.)

Although the specifics have not been made public, the main economic issue in the strike was reportedly settled in an all-night bargaining session Friday, May 24. Originally the company was demanding a two-tier wage system under which it would take from 19 to 25 years for future pilots to reach current pay scales. As a concession, the union agreed to an eight-year merge plan, which the company had rejected. Since negotiations have broken down on a back-to-work agreement, however, United has withdrawn its agreement on the two-tier settlement.

The breakdown in negotiations after this agreement was reached signals that the United bosses are out not only to weaken the union, but to bust it. Giving preferential treatment to scabs would give the company the right to arbitrarily ignore seniority rights.

United's demand would be clearly unac-

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Support needed for San Jose rights fight

BY SAM MANUEL

SAN FRANCISCO — Diane Wang, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party, has completed a successful five-day tour of the Bay Area. Wang, coauthor of the pamphlet "Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea," spoke about her 1984 trip to those two countries.

During her stay in the Bay Area, Wang spoke in San Jose, San Francisco, and Oakland. She was interviewed extensively by newspapers, radio, and television.

Right-wing Vietnamese thugs who have been attempting to close the socialist bookstore and the offices of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party in San Jose had pledged to halt the tour, but failed. Many of these thugs are ex-soldiers and officers of the defeated

U.S.-trained South Vietnamese army. This gang does not represent the majority of Vietnamese who have come to this country. In fact, many Vietnamese workers in this country are themselves victims of violent assaults by these thugs. This has included shakedowns, beatings, and murders.

During the night of May 16 some 17 windows at the San Jose socialist bookstore, where Wang was to speak, were shattered by large rocks. This attack, just one day before Wang was to begin her tour, was clearly designed to force the organizers of the tour to call it off and to intimidate others who might attend.

The organizers of the tour responded to this attack by holding a press conference to reaffirm their plans to continue with the

tour. They demanded that the city authorities and the cops carry out their responsibility to protect Wang's right to speak and the right of those who wished to hear her to do so without fear of intimidation and violence.

The next day the conference took place successfully despite the mob of over 100 outside who yelled "Kill the communists" and "Communists get out of America." Several times they attempted to charge the building, but seeing that the conference monitors did not retreat, they stopped short. They also distributed a leaflet threatening to disrupt Wang's speaking engagements May 21 and 22 in San Francisco and Oakland.

In response to this escalation of attacks

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY HALKET ALLEN

PHILADELPHIA — The Socialist Workers Party here set out to support the city's Black community against a police attack that burned down 61 homes and murdered 11 MOVE members. We decided to get the *Militant* out to the community as far and as wide as possible.

The Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers Party sold more than 200 copies of the May 24 *Militant*, which featured an article on the cop bombing of the West Philadelphia Black community. We made a special effort to sell at plant gates where workers in the garment industry, auto plants, and oil refineries work.

At Stanley Blacker garment plant, organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, we sold eight *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials* (the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*) — more than we had ever sold there before.

One worker who bought a *Mili-*

tant said, "This isn't someplace like Lebanon. It's unbelievable, the city bombed its own people. I never thought I'd see it here in America."

Another worker from Puerto Rico said, "They've bombed Puerto Rico, too. It's time to speak out against it." He bought a copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

One of our best sales was at the big General Motors assembly plant in Wilmington, Delaware. Two members of the SWP sold 20 *Militants* to the day shift coming out and the second shift going in. This is by far the most papers we've sold at GM. One Black woman worker bought a *Militant* and commented, "White people can blow up abortion clinics and get away with it. But bombing 61 homes is too much."

Another GM worker remarked, "Mayor Goode said he took full responsibility. What he meant is that he takes no responsibility."

Another GM worker said he was glad to see someone defend-

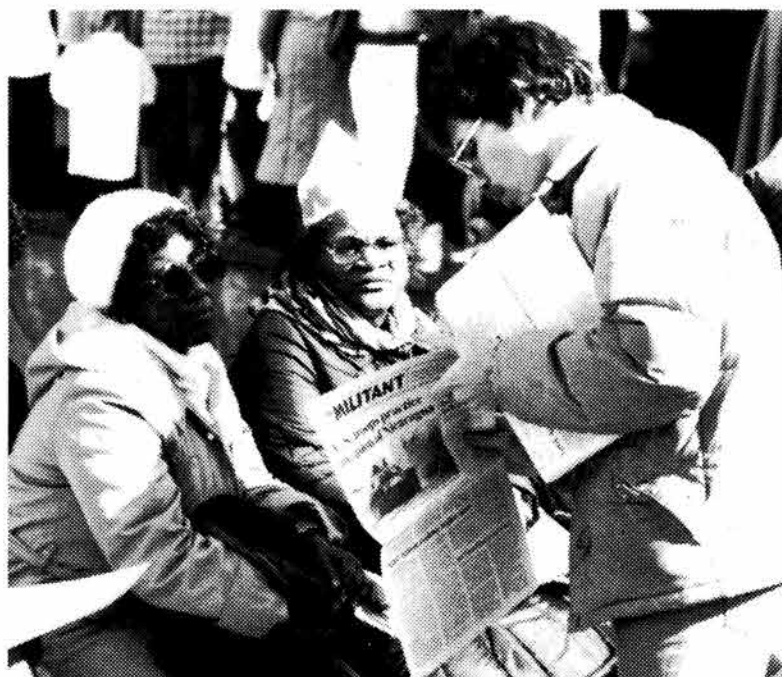
ing MOVE. He said the whole Black community stood aside. "Now we have to pull together," he said, and added that he would be looking out for the *Militant*.

Inside the plant, a worker reported that she was told by a worker down the assembly line from her that he had bought the *Militant*, and it was a paper she would like. She said he had bought the paper as a protest.

Not everyone agreed with the *Militant* coverage. One GM worker handed back the paper and said he was a part-time cop and didn't want to buy it.

We also sold at the Budd Hunting plant. It is organized by the United Auto Workers. One worker there said, "It was the whole government that was responsible for the bombing." He bought a *Militant*.

We sold 52 *Militants* to workers at plant gates and to workers we knew on the job. We also sold three copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*.



Militant/Halket Allen

Militant coverage of bombing of Black community in West Philadelphia boosted plant-gate sales to auto and garment workers. Shown above is recent sale to members of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Louisville SWP candidate scores Phila. bombing

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — On May 16, Mark Emanation, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Louisville, held his first press conference to condemn the Philadelphia Police Department's bombing of the Black community there. The 27-year-old garment worker and member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union said, "I call for the prosecution to the fullest extent of the law of Mayor Wilson Goode, Police Commissioner Sambor, and all others responsible for this horrendous crime. There can be no justification for bombing women, children, and men and burning down 61 homes in the heart of West Philadelphia's Black community."

Emanation responded to Louisville Police Chief Richard Dotson's statement that he would not rule out the same methods here in Louisville. "I condemn this blatant threat against Louisville's Black community," Emanation told the press, "and I challenge all of my Democratic and Republican Party opponents to state their positions on Dotson's statement."

While none of Louisville's other five mayoral candidates have responded, the bombing of Philadelphia's Black community is a big topic of discussion in Louisville's West End. Following the press conference, which was covered by the *Louisville Times* and radio station WLOU, Emanation and his supporters campaigned in

the Southwick Projects. Police have carried out weekly dragnets of his predominantly Black neighborhood for the last month. They have arbitrarily targeted this neighborhood as the "center for drugs" in the city. Residents expressed their shock and outrage as well as their concern that Louisville could be the next Philadelphia.

Socialist campaigners sold 28 *Militants* and 4 subscriptions and distributed hundreds of campaign statements condemning the racist attack on Philadelphia's Black community.

Emanation launched his campaign on May 1 at a successful rally that focused on building a movement against Washington's two-front war against workers and farmers in Central America and the United States.

The Socialist Workers' mayoral campaign was endorsed at the rally by James Scott, the father of Lindsey Scott, the 30-year-old Black marine serving a 30-year sentence in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas — the victim of a racist frame-up by the military justice system.

Scott told the rally, "For 40 years I've been voting Democrat and Republican, but now I have proof that once they're elected, you're out. In the last years, hundreds of newspapers have interviewed me on Lindsey's case, and only one told the truth. That paper is the *Militant*."

Scott concluded by pledging the Scott family's support to the Socialist Workers mayoral campaign. "I will talk to factory workers, garment workers, bus drivers — any workers to get support for the campaign."

Anti-apartheid activists call fall protest



Recent student protest at Columbia University in New York City.

National Anti-apartheid Protest Day has been called for October 11. The action was called by the American Committee on Africa along with representatives from student anti-apartheid groups that have been organizing anti-apartheid activities throughout the spring. The students participating were from Columbia; University of California, Berkeley; Cornell; University of Wisconsin, Madison; University of Florida; University of Iowa; University of Colorado; Rutgers; Yale; Princeton; Vassar; and State University of New York at Purchase.

The meeting was convened after a hearing by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid on May 7. The leaflet for the national day of protest included an appeal to "strengthen ties with the

movement against U.S. intervention in Central America," and offered the support of anti-apartheid activists for antiwar actions in the fall.

October 11 is also Southern Africa Political Prisoner Day. Groups are encouraged to link divestment actions to demands for freedom for Nelson Mandela, a leader of the African National Congress who has been imprisoned by the apartheid regime for 25 years, and for all other political prisoners.

The meeting also agreed to call a National Anti-apartheid Conference in New York for November of this year to help bring new students into the struggle and to plan for the week of action against apartheid set for March 21-April 6 next year.

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Editor: MALIK MIAH

Managing editor:

MARGARET JAYKO

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Fred Feldman, Andrea González, Pat Grogan, Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Tom Leonard, Karen Newton, Harry Ring.

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Gag order used in Philadelphia cover-up

BY HALKET ALLEN

PHILADELPHIA — Protests are mounting against the May 13 cop bombing of this city's West Philadelphia Black community which killed 11 people, including four children, and burned down 61 homes. The city government and cops' cover-up of their responsibility for the disaster continues to unravel.

The latest blow to the city administration came from the Dupont Co. which manufactures the Tovex TR-2, the bomb dropped by the cops on West Philadelphia. The city administration has tried to blame MOVE, a predominantly Black group that was the target of this attack and has been the victim of cop harassment for years, for causing the fire, claiming that MOVE members had spread gasoline on their home and the surrounding houses.

However, the May 26 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, ran a story in which Dupont explained that "the temperature of the blast [from the bomb] was up to 7,000 degrees Fahrenheit, a normal gasoline fire burns at 2,000 degrees." Jim Kolson, a fire-protection engineer for an insurance industry was quoted in the same story as saying "a fire like the Osage Avenue inferno which consumed everything but bricks and metal reached 3,500-4,000 degrees." This clearly demonstrated that the cops' bomb and not any gasoline had set off what became the worst fire in this city's history.

As the cover-up was cracking, fire fighters had come forward to voice their bitterness at being ordered not to put out the blaze for more than an hour. One fire fighter, Lieutenant Schwartz of Engine Company 43, told the press that "you al-

ways think that you could put it out. When you're ordered out of the area it's frustrating. You can't do what you are trained to do." Another fire fighter, Lieutenant Brennan of Ladder Company 24 said, "We were prevented from going into the backs of those houses and fighting the fire. We wanted to put those fires out." Others reported that even after the cops' gunfire faded no one ordered them in to fight the fire. Finally, they say, some fire fighters moved in on their own initiative.

Statements like these led the city administration, under advice from City Solicitor Barbara Mather, to slap a gag order on city workers, prohibiting them from speaking to the press about the May 13 events.

The gag order, however, did not apply to the cops who support the city's action. On May 22 over 150 cops rallied in the driving rain in support of the bombing. The press was invited to hear Robert Costello, recording secretary of the Fraternal Order of Police, accuse MOVE of being "screaming, kicking terrorists. No one was killed on Osage Avenue," he said. "Eleven people committed suicide, the blame rests on one group alone — MOVE."

The Philadelphia city administration and Mayor W. Wilson Goode have received other support from similar quarters. Los Angeles chief of police, Daryl Gates, staunchly defended the bombing on national television. He praised Mayor Goode as providing "the finest leadership I've ever seen from any politician and I hope he runs for national office."

With the cover-up crumbling, Goode accepted the resignation of City Manager Leo Brooks, the mayor's representative at



Before city administration slapped on gag order, fire fighters had come forward to tell how they went in on their own to fight fire caused by cop bombing.

Osage Avenue during the bombing. He also appointed a commission of inquiry. The commission's 11 members are all Goode campaign supporters, political allies, and lawyers for companies with city contracts. The fact that not one member of the Osage Avenue community was appointed to the commission disappointed many residents. "I want to know why one of us isn't on this thing," said Clifford Bond, captain of the 6200 block of Osage Avenue. "They go and burn your place down and then they have the audacity not to put someone on the block on the commission."

Although there continues to be confusion about who is responsible for the bombing, opposition is growing in Philadelphia and around the country.

Several groups and committees have formed here to protest the attack. One, Citizens Concerned for Civil Liberties, organized a press conference to protest the attack. The Philadelphia Investigative Committee and the Philadelphia Education and Information Commission were formed to gather information on the May 13 attack on

MOVE and get out the facts. Another organization, the Citizens Committee for Humanity and Justice, has called a demonstration at 10 a.m. on Thursday, May 30. It is to start at Progress Plaza and march to City Hall for a noontime rally.

Goode was greeted with protests at Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts, where he was awarded an honorary degree.

At the meeting of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists held in Philadelphia May 25 and 26, Goode was met with polite applause when he brought greetings from the city to the delegates. During the political-action workshop, however, Tony Harris, former chairman of voter registration for the Democratic Party National Committee, attacked the bombing saying, "I know I'm not supposed to do this, but a bomb was dropped on all of us whether we want to believe it or not. When a guy like this can get away with it, it sets a bad example." He got an ovation.

Discussion on the attack went on throughout the convention. One delegate from New York told this correspondent, "I blame Goode for this. I'm mad at Philadelphia for letting this happen. Black people should have so much pull with a Black mayor there should be no problem, but he acts just like Reagan. How can we go out and say register when we have situations like this one? It's crazy."

Meanwhile, the city administration is trying to intimidate its opponents. On May 22 Cardell Johnson was arrested while leafletting for the May 30 protest. Although Johnson was standing on an 18-foot wide sidewalk she was charged with blocking a public highway and disorderly conduct. Johnson, the Consumer Party's candidate for city controller, was held for 17 hours before being released on her own recognizance.

SWP enters Detroit mayor race

BY ED GOLDMAN

DETROIT — At an April 25 televised press conference Socialist Workers candidate Kibwe Diarra announced the launching of his campaign for mayor of this city.

Diarra is a member of the United Auto Workers and a repairman at the General Dynamics tank plant in Warren, Michigan. He explained that the billions spent carrying out wars such as the one against Nicaragua should instead be spent to provide jobs and social services in cities like Detroit, where the infant mortality rate approaches that of some of the poorest Latin American nations.

Diarra also condemned his opponent, incumbent mayor Coleman Young, for making the fight against "crime" — that is, putting more cops on the streets — his number one campaign issue. "The real crimes take place in the board rooms of Ford and General Motors, which make superprofits from the criminal apartheid system in South Africa, and pay out billions in dividends while people go hungry in Detroit," Diarra said.

One week later, Diarra, a Vietnam veteran, issued a statement carried on several Black radio stations that condemned the Reagan administration's May 1 trade embargo of Nicaragua as a major step toward a new Vietnam in Central America. He and other campaign supporters participated in a picket line of 140 people protesting the embargo, and distributed statements supporting the protest.

At General Dynamics, Diarra had been active in promoting the April 20 antiwar march in Washington, D.C., by distributing leaflets and participating in a union committee set up to organize members to go to this national demonstration. Along with half a dozen coworkers, Diarra marched in Washington under their union banner.

After his kick-off press conference, many coworkers approached Diarra after seeing him on the news, asking him questions on everything from the city budget to the war in Central America.

At a campaign reception and open house May 5, Diarra explained how working people in Michigan could use a government like the Nicaraguans have — a government run by and for the workers and farmers, that fights the crimes of illiteracy, malnutrition, and disease.

Diarra, who is active in the Detroit chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party, discussed the need for Blacks and other working people to form Black and labor parties independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

The May 5 reception also raised money for the Socialist Publication Fund which helps sustain the *Militant* and other publications. Over \$5,000 has been pledged so far in Detroit.

Publication fund helps get out truth

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

"It's about time somebody did something to speak out." That's how many residents of Philadelphia's Black community reacted to the May 24 issue of the *Militant*, which featured a front-page story on the cop bombing of the West Philadelphia Black community.

Many people were glad to see the headline of that week's issue. It called for protests of this murderous attack, which left 11 people dead and 250 people homeless.

The *Militant* was seen as one way to respond to this attack, and some 200 copies were sold in only two days.

Blacks across the country were especially angry about this attack, and the *Militant* sold well in Black communities in other cities too. Many other working people bought copies as well because of the paper's coverage of the bombing.

But it takes money to publish a paper with this kind of timely response. That's where the Socialist Publication Fund comes in. It is your help, large and small, that allows us to get out the truth — "to do something to speak out" about racist attacks and union-busting at home and the escalating U.S. war against the workers and farmers in Central America.

The money raised from the fund also helps pay for our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as the bi-weekly news magazine *Intercontinental Press*.

In addition, the fund helps make possible the publication of the *New Internationalist*, a magazine of Marxist theory and politics. Money raised through the fund

also helps to publish such books as *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution*, and a new book of Fidel Castro's speeches on war and crisis in the Americas to be published in July.

Clearly your contribution to the Socialist Publication Fund goes a long way in answering the U.S. government's lies and cover-ups.

As we go to press, pledges continue to come in, bringing the total amount pledged to \$94,062. A total of \$42,450 has been collected to date.

In the March 22 issue of the *Militant*, we launched the Socialist Publication Fund with the goal of raising \$75,000 by June 15.

A major purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* and other socialist publication projects.

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Malcolm X: revolutionary internationalist

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

In commemoration of Malcolm X's birthday the May 22 issue of the *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly, ran an editorial entitled "Remembering Malcolm at 60."

Malcolm X, the greatest revolutionary fighter in the United States of our times, was assassinated on Feb. 21, 1965.

The *Guardian* editorial summarized his life and correctly referred to Malcolm as "a fiercely determined fighter against U.S. racism and political and economic oppression."

But near the end of the editorial the following paragraph appeared: "There is no question that were Malcolm alive he would welcome and be actively involved in the current efforts against South African apartheid. He would have welcomed the Jesse Jackson presidential campaign and the position Jackson has taken on international issues. It is also likely he would have continued to develop his own positions regarding the need for a new political and economic order." (emphasis added)

But no one can say what Malcolm would have done, welcomed, or thought were he alive today. The *Guardian's* claim that he would have supported Jackson's Democratic Party presidential campaign, however, has a purpose. It is designed to use Malcolm's authority to bolster its own support for the procapitalist presidential campaign of Jackson.

What we do know is what Malcolm X did and said while he was alive. A review of his speeches reveals that Malcolm — unlike the *Guardian* — did not see Black liberation and other fundamental social change as being achieved through the election of "good" or "lesser-evil" Democrats or Republicans — including ones who are Black.

As opposed to relying on the election of capitalist politicians, Malcolm advocated mass, independent political action by Blacks and their supporters. He backed those fighting oppression and exploitation around the world.

Malcolm was for a revolutionary struggle against racism and the system that spawned it — capitalism.

Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, on the other hand — as he himself emphasizes — is an attempt to revitalize the capitalist Democratic Party. This is to be done through a program of minimal reforms and a more progressive veneer for U.S. imperialism.

A brief review of some of Malcolm's ideas will show that he was both a "determined fighter against U.S. racism" and an internationalist.

Vietnam and Cuba

Malcolm opposed the U.S. government's war in Vietnam and hailed the advances of that revolution against imperialist domination.

In the speech "Prospects for Freedom in 1965," Malcolm said, "Also in 1964, the oppressed people of South Vietnam, and in that entire Southeast Asia area, were successful in fighting off the agents of imperialism. . . . Little rice farmers, peasants with a rifle — up against all the highly mechanized weapons of warfare . . . and they [the imperialists] can't put these rice farmers back where they want them. Somebody is waking up."

Malcolm was also a defender of the Cuban revolution. He saw it as part of a world revolution that he supported, the same revolution that the struggle of Blacks in the United States was part of.

In his speech "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm said, "The Black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban revolution — that's a revolution. They overturned the system."

A year later, Malcolm X invited Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution, to speak alongside him at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. Guevara could not attend but sent a support message which Malcolm read. The message was warmly received. Malcolm commented, "I'm happy to hear your warm applause in return because it lets the man [rulers] know that he's not in a position to tell us who we should applaud for and who we shouldn't applaud for." He then warned right-wing Cuban counterrevolutionaries "don't come up to Harlem and tell us who we should applaud or there will be some ex-anti-Castro Cubans."

Malcolm defended Cuba in the so-called missile crisis in 1962, saying "Castro, who is the legal head of Cuba was well within his rights to ask Russia to put missiles in Cuba."

'Victim of Americanism'

Malcolm X, a revolutionary fighter for Black rights, was an internationalist. He identified not with the U.S. rulers but with the peoples in struggle against imperialist domination around the world.

"No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are victims of Americanism. . . . I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim," Malcolm said in his famous "The Ballot or the Bullet" speech.

It was this internationalism that led Malcolm to place the struggle of Black liberation in an international context. Speaking at Columbia University right before his as-



Malcolm X speaking at Harlem rally

sassination, Malcolm said, "The American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era. . . . It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white or as a purely American problem. Rather we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

Rejects capitalist parties

It was this world view that led Malcolm to reject the two capitalist parties — the Democrats and Republicans with their electoral con game — and adopt a revolutionary stance on how Black liberation would be won.

On more than one occasion Malcolm explained that the "Democratic Party is responsible for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican Party." He described capitalist politicians of both parties as enemies of Black rights. He rejected the idea that one person could change the situation for Blacks in the

United States, saying "It isn't a president who can help or hurt; it is the system. And this system is not only ruling us in America. It is ruling the world."

Malcolm pointed toward revolutionary struggle by Blacks and their allies as the way forward. He said, "We will work with anyone, with any group, no matter what their color is, as long as they are genuinely interested in taking the type of steps necessary to bring an end to the injustices that Black people in this country are afflicted by. . . . [A]s long as their aims and objectives are in the direction of destroying the vulturous system that has been sucking the blood of Black people in this country, they're all right with us."

While no one can claim to know what Malcolm would have said or done today, to say what the *Guardian* did in their editorial — to project onto Malcolm their political views — is a travesty.

There is much to learn from Malcolm. The best way to do so is by reading and studying what he actually said.

Vietnam pamphlet 'essential reading'

BY MIKE TABER

Over the last several months the big-business media has run a spate of "news" reports about Indochina today, 10 years after the U.S. defeat. With few exceptions the theme is always the same: life is far worse for the people of Vietnam and Kampuchea than it was under the U.S. occupation. The intended implication is that the U.S. war "against communism" was right, and even noble — just as a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua would be.

Nevertheless, there is considerable interest, especially among young people, in learning the truth about Indochina, given the relevance of its lessons for Central America today. A valuable tool in answering the capitalist propaganda and telling the real story is *Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea*, a Pathfinder Press pamphlet by militant correspondents Diane Wang and Steve Clark, who visited those two countries in 1984. The pamphlet has been well-received by North American supporters of the Indochinese revolution.

The organization Canadian Aid for Vietnam Civilians (CAUC) in Vancouver is enthusiastic about the pamphlet, ordering 100 copies. They added in their bulletin, "We concur with [Wang and Clark's] reports and recommend their booklet for study."

Abe Weisburd, a member of the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, had this comment: "I wish to strongly urge all those interested in the truth about Indochina, the U.S. role, Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and their allies, as well as the progress being made by the two poor socialist countries, to read and study the Diane Wang/Steve Clark *Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea*."

Mentioning the "excellent introduction by Will Reissner," Weisburd went on to state, "As one who has no connection with the publisher or ties to the authors' political organizations, I exhibited my attitude toward *Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea* by distributing copies of the pamphlet."

"I urge others to emulate this action, which I consider to be a contribution to the struggle to end U.S.-Chinese collaboration to destabilize the Indochinese countries."

Chan Bun Han, a Kampuchean activist

living in the United States, stated, "This pamphlet is essential reading for all those interested in peoples' struggles the world over." Of particular interest, he noted, were the accounts of discussions with Vietnamese and Kampuchean officials as well as ordinary people.

Kathleen Gough Aberle, author of *Ten Times More Beautiful*, a book about the reconstruction of Vietnam, wrote that the pamphlet "is an excellent short introduction to developments in those countries over the past ten years," especially Pol Pot's genocide and the rebuilding of Indochina since the end of the war.

Morton Sobell, a member of the Scien-

tific Committee for Cooperation with Vietnam and a long-time fighter for social justice in the United States, commented, "I was impressed with the accuracy of the discussions of the differences that have grown up historically between North and South Vietnam and the attempts to reconcile them." The pamphlet "fills a much felt and urgent need" for such educational materials, he said.

Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea is 70 pages and costs \$2. It can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014, along with \$.75 for postage and handling.

S. Korean students occupy U.S. office

BY FRED FELDMAN

Scores of South Korean students were arrested by the military dictatorship May 26 after they ended a four-day sit-in at the U.S. embassy in Seoul, South Korea's capital city.

According to the May 27 *New York Times*, the students left the embassy "with arms linked, carrying a handmade South Korean flag and chanting, 'Down with the military dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan,'" the U.S.-backed ruler.

The sit-in began May 23 as a protest against Washington's massive backing to the military dictator. In particular, the students protested Washington's involvement in the massacres in the city of Kwangju in May 1980, where the government suppressed a popular revolt.

On May 28, 25 more students were arrested for their part in the protest. If convicted, these students face prison terms of up to seven years.

The South Korean government admits having killed 191 people in Kwangju, but human rights groups say the toll was much higher.

The student protest at the U.S. embassy inspired sympathy protests involving thousands of youth on South Korean campuses.

The U.S. ambassador, Richard Walker, made no criticism of the military regime's violence against the South Korean people.

Instead he condemned the students' "forceful" action and denied any U.S. responsibility for the repression at Kwangju.

The denial is a lie.

The commander of U.S. forces in South Korea — there are 40,000 U.S. troops occupying the country — also heads the joint command, which includes South Korea's armed forces.

U.S. commanders released South Korean troops under their command so that they could be used to crush the revolt.

And U.S. forces were kept on alert in case South Korean troops proved unable to suppress the revolt.

In addition to this direct complicity, the South Korean armed forces have been trained and armed to the teeth by U.S. imperialism.

Washington has propped up a succession of dictators in South Korea in order to threaten North Korea, where the people have won freedom from imperialist domination; maintain the division of the country and crush any popular upheaval that develops in the South.

At the conclusion of the sit-in, Ambassador Walker reiterated U.S. military backing to the butchers of Kwangju: "We have emerged without damage to relations between our two countries or to our unbending security commitment on the Korean peninsula."

By Malcolm X

By Any Means Necessary	\$3.95
Malcolm X on Afro-American History	2.95
Malcolm X Talks to Young People	.75
Two Speeches by Malcolm X	.75

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014 (include 75 cents for postage and handling).

Nicaragua organizes to counter U.S. embargo

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaragua's revolutionary government and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) are waging a political offensive to organize workers, peasants, and all the people of Nicaragua to counter the U.S. economic embargo of their country and defend the gains of their revolution.

In press conferences, meetings with various sections of the population, and official statements, the Nicaragua leaders stress that the embargo is a serious escalation of Washington's war against Nicaragua and aims to increase the country's already existing economic difficulties.

"The blockade against Nicaragua decreed by the Reagan administration," an editorial in the May 11 *Barricada* explained, "is a political measure that seeks to weaken the revolution and to create the conditions for a direct intervention against our country."

Barricada was commenting on a May 10 joint communiqué by the Nicaraguan government and the FSLN.

"We must be conscious," that statement said, "that defense of the homeland, now more than ever, has the first place among our efforts."

"The closing of U.S. markets ... is a measure that affects all sectors of the country. Therefore, a response from Nicaraguan society as a whole is necessary, from its workers, small and medium owners, large businessmen, technicians and professionals. Through this response we must be able to show that — even though this escalated aggression against our homeland will bring difficulties — the problems posed by the economic boycott can be overcome."

Speaking to foreign correspondents May 14, Vice-president Sergio Ramírez explained that some 90 percent of Nicaragua's machinery, spare parts, etc. come from the United States. Most of it will eventually have to be replaced.

"This is a longterm process," he stressed, that will involve not simply putting a machine from another country in place of the American one. It must be, he said, a real transformation of the country."

As an example, he cited Nicaragua's toilet paper production facilities. These simply take large rolls imported from abroad, cut the paper into four-inch-wide strips, and package it in consumer rolls. Over time, he explained, Nicaragua will have to develop a paper industry using trees from its own extensive forests.

The government-FSLN statement explained that, "If our country was previously dependent on the United States in many economic aspects, we have the opportunity to break with that dependency."

In immediate terms, the Nicaraguan leader reported, the embargo will have less of an impact than the 90 percent figure would imply.

One reason for this, he said, is that some of the country's machinery is already paralyzed or functioning below capacity.

"The war of aggression has provoked a

pretty serious economic deterioration," he said. Nicaragua's shortage of hard currency had already limited its ability to import spare parts and machinery even before the embargo was imposed. And many obstacles placed by the U.S. government have been disrupting normal trade relations for some time.

Moreover, the effects of the embargo will be mitigated to some extent by the fact that Nicaragua will be able to get many key imports from other sources, possibly even from foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. Nevertheless, Ramírez warned that Nicaraguans must avoid the illusion of thinking that "we will continue connected to the U.S. market through the kitchen door" indefinitely.

The Reagan administration, he explained, has already threatened to extend the embargo to cover foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations and financial transactions. Such an expanded embargo, he warned, "will put the country in a new situation."

Even before the embargo was imposed, Ramírez reported, Nicaragua's leaders were making efforts to get fewer operations working better instead of having a lot of operations working inefficiently. As an example of the kind of hard choices involved, he reported that of the more than a dozen cotton gins in the country, "we are going to have five functioning well," for the next cotton harvest.

Ramírez also explained that the revolutionary government would continue applying the new economic policy outlined at the beginning of this year.

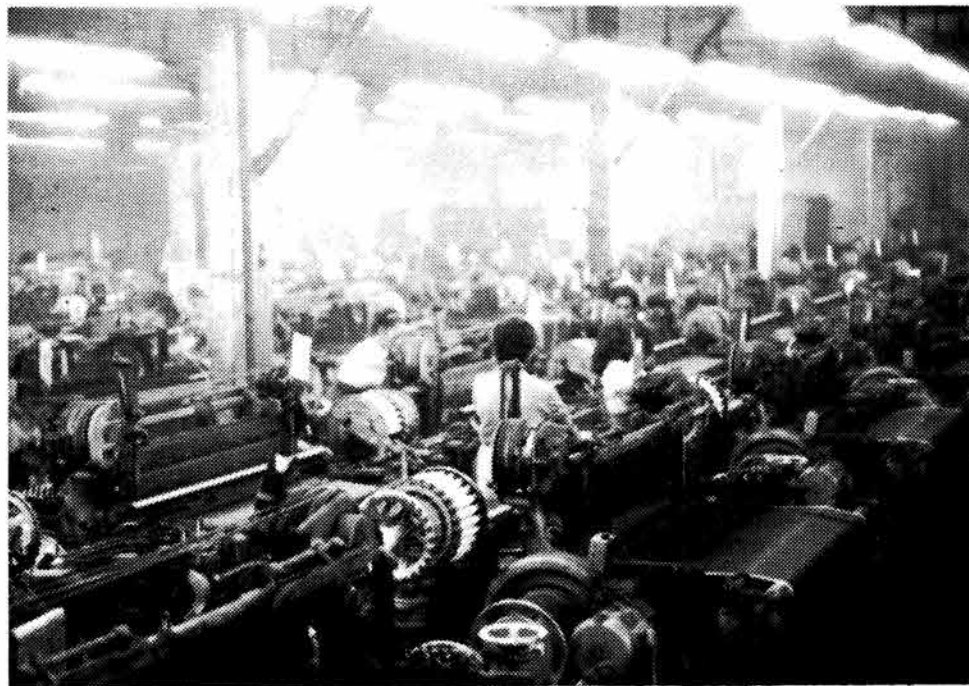
A May Day message from the Sandinista Front's National Directorate to the Nicaraguan working class summarized that policy: "The fundamental aim of these measures is to bolster the support for national defense and to lay a firm base for a plan of agricultural and industrial production that confronts the population's basic needs. And at the same time we propose to fight against the disarray in the area of wages, the effects of inflation on the basic market basket, the shortages, the speculation, and the disorders in the market that we have experienced in the past years, as well as against corruption."

The measures included elimination of subsidies on basic foods, freezing of social service spending, and a sharp devaluation of the córdoba.

At the same time Nicaragua's workers and farmers government has sought to protect working people — and especially industrial workers, agricultural laborers, and small farmers — from being forced to bear the brunt of the crisis, as happens under capitalist governments. To this end, the government has increased both wages and the prices it pays to agricultural producers.

Even before the U.S. embargo, Sandinista leaders were anticipating deepening economic problems in 1985.

In its May Day message the Sandinista Front explained that "while it is true that we have been scoring successes in the



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Factories, such as Texnica textile plant, will be affected by U.S. embargo since 90 percent of machinery and spare parts come from United States.

struggle on the military front we have greater difficulties in 1985 in the economic sphere.

Delivering the message on behalf of the National Directorate, Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce stressed that "the military aggression through mercenary forces has not achieved its objectives or succeeded in undermining the morale of the people."

"They have been unable to destroy us. They have not forced our people to change their revolutionary course."

"Our struggle has become the banner of Latin America, of the Third World, and is a challenge to the conscience of all governments that respect the dignity of nations and love peace."

In that message the FSLN listed 12 points that government leaders say must also be the basis for confronting the escalated aggression that the economic embargo represents.

The first and overriding point is to "guarantee the defense of the revolution which means the survival of the conquests of the people and the only possibility to make real our most cherished ideals, our future, and that of our children."

Several other points also centered on bolstering the defense effort including waging an educational campaign to explain the need for the Patriotic Military Service, Nicaragua's draft.

Most of the other points focused on boosting production, which is intimately linked to defense. These included making greater efforts to train women for nontraditional jobs to replace men mobilized on the military front and improving the maintenance and upkeep of the country's productive machinery.

One point dealt with corruption by government employees. The government has launched a national commission against corruption headed by Vice-president Ramírez. Union members at the Ministry of Health and at a government-owned plastic factory have been instrumental in uncovering and putting an end to theft rings that were costing the country millions of dollars.

The May 10 joint government-FSLN statement on countering the embargo outlined further measures. It specified measures in six areas: food production, distribution, machinery and spare parts, exports, electricity and fuel, and health care.

The central goal of the measures regarding food is to boost production and "achieve effective ways to distribute goods so that they can reach the population in a just way."

To this end the government has suspended the "parallel market" — the legal sale of rationed goods over and above a given family's quota but at sharply higher prices. This measure was originally aimed at competing with black marketeers and thereby curbing price-gouging and speculation.

Another measure to equalize distribution is the elimination of payment in kind to factory workers of goods they produce.

In its May Day message the FSLN had explained that abolition of this practice was necessary for the benefit of the entire work-

ing class.

"Under the present conditions these practices stimulate shortages in official distribution channels and contribute to speculation, to increasing inflation, and to the breakdown of the urban worker."

The message pointed out that payment in kind was especially unfair to "peasants and agricultural laborers who under war conditions are working selflessly to provide food for the whole nation."

"The entire population must be able to resist equally the imperialist aggression!"

The government is also conducting a national census of machine tools in the country, aiming to maximize and rationalize their use.

The Ministry of Transportation is setting up a centralized spare parts depot for government vehicles. A similar centralized spare parts operation is being set up for privately owned cars.

To stimulate exports the government will extend an experiment started a year ago with cattle ranchers. Farmers who grow export crops will be paid in dollars for part of their production. The amount of dollars paid will vary according to their efficiency and productivity.

This means farmers will be able to obtain spare parts and other imports from abroad without having to buy the needed currency on the free market at 20 times the official exchange rate.

On fuel and electricity, the statement says new conservation measures will be necessary. Gasoline has long been rationed.

One of the areas most affected by the embargo will be health care. Almost all of Nicaragua's sophisticated hospital equipment comes from the United States, and obtaining exact replacement parts from other sources will be impossible in many cases.

Even before the embargo there had been problems in this area. Most of the incubators for premature children at the nation's main maternity hospital were awaiting spare parts for repair. It now seems inevitable that at least some will have to be dismantled for their parts in order to keep the rest in operation.

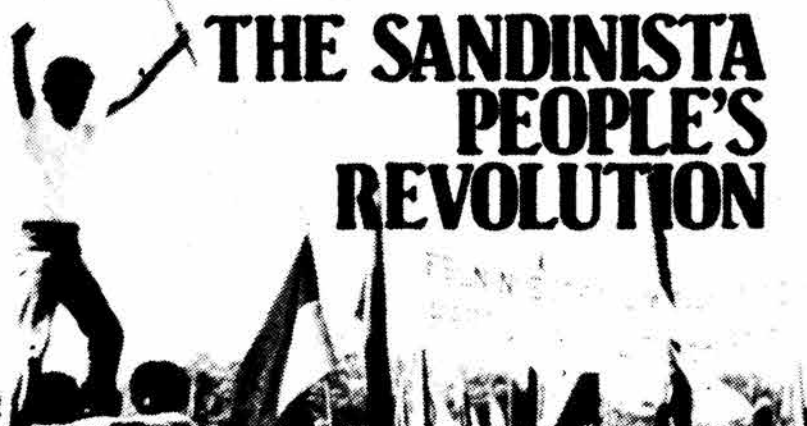
One of the main ways that Nicaragua will overcome the affects of the embargo is by relying on the resourcefulness and creativity of industrial workers. For some time, the Sandinista Workers Federation has been developing an "innovators' movement," a cooperative effort by workers who can figure out how to make or adapt spare parts for broken-down machinery.

"All the tasks we have pointed out," the joint government-FSLN statement said, "should be carried out with a high spirit of discipline, of saving, of austerity, of economizing resources. All functionaries of the revolutionary government, as well as leaders, cadres, and members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, will be the first to set the example in this sense."

"With unity, with the courage and energy of all Nicaraguans, which is being put to the test at this crucial hour," the statement concluded, "we are sure that we will defeat this new attempt of the U.S. government to subjugate Nicaragua."

Speeches by Sandinista leaders

NICARAGUA THE SANDINISTA PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION



This new collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. 400 pages, \$7.95 (include \$.75 for postage and handling). Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

Protest U.S. troop threat against Nicaragua

Continued from front page

tire region is from Washington, which has turned Honduras into a virtual U.S. military base.

The bulk of the CIA's contra war against Nicaragua is run from Honduras. When Nicaraguan soldiers defend their territory against these attacks, the Honduran government and its U.S. masters raise the cry of "Communist aggression."

This has two purposes: to justify the U.S. military buildup and aggression against Nicaragua; and to set up a situation where Washington could justify an invasion of Nicaragua under the guise of "defending" Honduras.

Washington's attempt to overthrow Nicaragua's workers and farmers government faces some big obstacles, however. The main one is that the contras have suffered numerous blows to their attempts to gain a foothold inside Nicaragua. In the last several months they have taken heavy casualties.

The workers and peasants of Nicaragua have mobilized by the hundreds of thousands to defend their country and their revolution from these marauders, who are hated by the Nicaraguan people. This has created tactical divisions among capitalist politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties over how best to proceed.

There is bipartisan agreement on the reactionary goal of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government. Where these capitalist politicians differ, however, is over the timing and tactics of this operation.

Reagan, Shultz, and others who want to expand the contra war are pouring the pressure on legislators who aren't yet convinced. Headway was made during the April congressional debate over the \$14 million aid, which was voted down.

Congress is now rediscussing financial aid for the contras, and many congresspeople who voted against the \$14 million have announced they will support the new aid bill. The main proposal under consideration is to appropriate \$42 million for 1985 and 1986.

Shultz's warning to Congress implies that if more aid is sent to the contras, U.S. GIs won't be sent to Nicaragua.

This is a lie.

The White House knows that the contras can't overthrow the Nicaraguan government. What Reagan does hope, however, is that they can serve as an advance guard, which could take a piece of Nicaraguan territory — thus providing Washington with some political cover to send in troops.

80,000 demonstrate against apartheid across New Zealand

As many as 80,000 people demonstrated May 3 across New Zealand, a country of 3 million people. The actions were called to protest the proposed tour of that country's rugby team to South Africa.

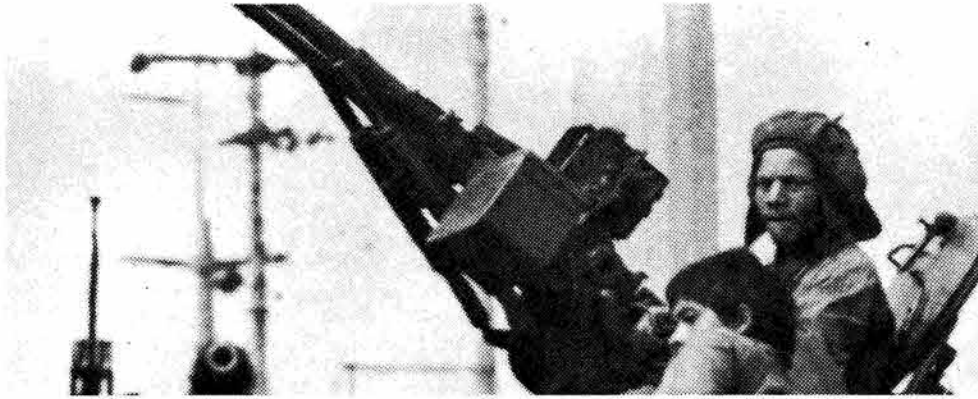
The demonstration of 30,000 in Auckland was the largest in the country. There were contingents from Maori high schools. (Maoris are the oppressed indigenous people of that country.) There were also contingents from several unions, including boilermakers, storeworkers, railway workers, clerical workers, workers from General Foods, and food workers from New American Ice Cream.

The Auckland rally heard from a leader of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), the organization leading the current struggle in New Caledonia for independence from French imperialism.

Demonstrations against the tour took place in 30 cities throughout New Zealand — including actions of 25,000 in Wellington, 17,000 in Hamilton, 3,000 in Palmerston North, and 8,000 in Christchurch.

Revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean

Don't go looking in the big-business press for the truth about Cuba and Nicaragua. It isn't there. It is, however, in the *Militant*. See the ad on page 2 for subscription details.



Shultz (right) threatened use of U.S. troops as U.S.-backed contras are being defeated by armed Nicaraguan people (left).



But even if the contras are never able to set up their own reactionary "provisional government" on Nicaraguan soil — and they have failed thus far — the U.S. ruling class will not give up its goal of overturning the Nicaraguan revolution. It will continue to escalate its war against Nicaragua — politically, economically, and militarily.

And it will still have to send in massive numbers of U.S. troops. It is precisely such an invasion that the Pentagon is rehearsing with its constant military maneuvers in neighboring Honduras.

On April 20, tens of thousands of people marched in cities across the United States to protest Washington's war in Central

America. Shultz's latest threat, along with Reagan's pact with Honduras, underlines the urgency of building a united, broad antiwar movement, involving the unions, Black and Latino communities, GIs, students, and all those who oppose the U.S. government's growing war in Central America.

Campus protest hits Duarte's visit

SOUTH BEND, Ind. — Over 400 demonstrators marched at Notre Dame University May 19 to protest a visit by Salvadoran president José Napoleón Duarte. Duarte, whose U.S.-backed government is currently engaged in massive bombing of the countryside of El Salvador, had been invited to speak at the college's commencement exercises, where he received an honorary doctorate.

Marchers, who came from Chicago, Detroit, and other Midwest cities, carried signs condemning the bombing in El Salvador, as well as the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua. Many carried

placards reading "Notre Shame."

In a ceremony at the end of the march, demonstrators planted crosses in the lawn in front of the hall where the commencement took place, symbolizing the over 50,000 victims of Washington's war in El Salvador. As the names of victims were read out, the crowd responded with shouts of "Presente!" — they are with us.

Duarte's government's escalated air war against the Salvadoran people includes the use of napalm and white phosphorus

bombs. Duarte claimed in his speech that "democracy has been born" in El Salvador. Notre Dame president Rev. Theodore Hesburgh praised Duarte, a Notre Dame graduate, for remembering "the values we spoke about in religion class."

Speakers at the rally outside included representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, the Sanctuary Project, the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador and the Pledge of Resistance.

Socialists open new bookstore in Pittsburgh

BY MELVIN CHAPPELL

PITTSBURGH — Friends and members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance gathered here May 11 for a rally to celebrate the grand opening of the Militant Labor Bookstore in its new storefront location.

The rally's guest speaker was Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker who has been fighting a 10-year battle to prevent his deportation and win permanent residency in the United States.

Marroquín talked about the Vietnam-type war that the U.S. rulers are currently carrying out against Nicaragua. He attacked the U.S. embargo of Nicaragua as an act of aggression that should be opposed.

The rally also heard from Mark Weddleton, the SWP candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Weddleton is a member of United Steelworkers Local 15018. The

event marked the public launching of his socialist campaign in a city where thousands of steelworkers have been fighting against plant shutdowns, layoffs, and takeback contracts.

Throughout the day leading up to the rally, the bookstore had its doors open to walk-in traffic. Dozens of people stopped by to look around, purchase books, and chat with members of the SWP and YSA.

Socialists also fanned out into the surrounding streets to sell the *Militant* newspaper and distribute socialist campaign literature. During the opening day over \$50 worth of Pathfinder Press literature was sold, including five copies of the new book, *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution*.

A slideshow on Nicaragua given during store hours was attended by 15 people, eight of whom walked off the streets or arrived after participating in a picket line against U.S. investments in South Africa.



José Napoleón Duarte, president of El Salvador.

'IP' answers myths about World War II

A wave of proimperialist propaganda has accompanied the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe. Capitalist politicians and commentators in the United States, Britain, and other imperialist countries have used the occasion to reinforce the myth that the capitalist Allies fought a "just" war to "save democracy."

Intercontinental Press takes up some of these distortions in its current, June 10, issue and describes what the war was really about from the standpoint of the working class.

An article by Will Reissner exposes the imperialist motives of the "democratic" Allies in their war against the rival powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan. It includes information on the role of revolutionary Marxists in promoting fraternization between German and French soldiers and on the efforts of the imperialists to maintain their hold over their colonies.

A second article, by Steve Craine, covers the defensive fight of Soviet

workers and peasants against the German imperialist invasion of the USSR. This defensive war, unlike the interimperialist conflict, was a progressive struggle that deserved the support of working people of all countries.

Intercontinental Press is a biweekly that carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Europe to Oceania and from the Middle East to Central America — than we have room for in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

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Bangladesh cyclone: social disaster kills thousands

BY MALIK MIAH

Another social disaster has hit the impoverished working people of Bangladesh. A devastating cyclone hit southeastern Bangladesh on May 25. While news accounts based on government reports claim about 3,000 people as known dead, the real figures will probably rise into the tens of thousands.

Hundreds of thousands of people — mostly farmers, fishermen, and migrant workers — have been left homeless. In one area alone, 50,000 people are without homes.

Bangladesh is a small South Asian country that borders India. It is a country of some 100 million people about the size of Wisconsin. About 80 percent of the people live in the countryside with a yearly per capita income of \$105. It is considered one of the poorest countries in the world; definitely one of the most crowded.

The cyclone was not unexpected. It began gathering force several days before it struck the coastal area. But the government had no adequate system to evacuate people.

The Ganges River estuary hit by the cyclone is about 168 miles long, dotted with about 1,000 islands populated by 8.5 million people. Ten-foot-high tidal waves driven by 100 mile-per-hour winds crashed into the islands in the Bay of Bengal. Many were completely inundated by water and disappeared from sight.

The exact death toll will never be learned. During May, 300,000 migrant workers travel to the area to help in the rice harvest. The May 27 *New York Times* quotes one government official saying, "If the death figures go beyond 100,000, I wouldn't be surprised."

Besides the human toll, government officials also report that some 500,000 head of cattle are missing, along with other livestock. Most of the crops were also destroyed.

The country's president, military dictator Lieut. Gen. H.M. Ershad, visited the devastated area and helped in the relief effort. The government is distributing \$300,000 from a special cash relief fund.

International aid has been slow in coming. The International Committee of the Red Cross appealed for \$1.7 million to aid the victims. The American Red Cross received an appeal from the Bangladesh Red Cross for \$2 million. The callousness of the richest imperialist power, the United States, was shown by its measly offering of \$25,000. (Later this was raised by a paltry \$500,000.)

Ershad's quick response to the devastation partially reflects the internal situation in the country. Military dictator since March 1982, he has been challenged by a growing opposition movement that recently boycotted a government-organized referendum in March and May municipal

Dominican Socialist Bloc sends solidarity

The following greeting to the Young Socialist Alliance convention was received from the Committee in New York of the Bloque Socialista of the Dominican Republic.

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of your national convention, the Bloque Socialista of the Dominican Republic Committee in New York brings you a warm fraternal greeting. We hope that the result of your convention is to continue to strengthen your line of solidarity with the peoples in struggle and against the imperialist war.

The invaluable work that you carry out among the youth and working people in the United States will bear fruit to the benefit of all people. Long live the youth and working people of the Dominican Republic and the United States. The way forward is socialism.

elections.

The military and "civilian" regimes over the last 14 years, since Bangladesh achieved its independence from Pakistan in 1971, are widely known for their corruption. Relief aid doesn't necessarily always reach its intended destination.

Bangladesh is hit annually by heavy monsoon rains. One-third of the country is normally flooded, caused by rivers overflowing their banks. Such floods destroy homes, crops, and lives. These are usually followed by droughts and/or famine.

One of the worst such disasters occurred in 1970. More than 500,000 people died, and one million more were left homeless. The *New York Times* called it the "worst catastrophe of the century."

Youth rally pledges antiwar fight

Continued from front page

A denunciation of the regime in El Salvador and its servility to Washington was made at the rally by Salvador López, a representative of FENASTRAS, one of El Salvador's national trade union bodies.

Referring to the recent Washington visits by Salvadoran president José Napoleón Duarte, López declared, "He is carrying out the will of the puppeteer. He has come to Washington to lick the boot of his master, saying he's for the commercial embargo against Nicaragua and that he supports the help that Reagan is giving to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries."

Despite the talk of a "democratic opening" in El Salvador, he charged that the death squads continue their activity, repression by the army continues, and anti-labor decrees are still being enforced.

But, he declared, "Resistance is increasing."

He pointed to the fact that there had been an entire series of strikes in 1984 and 30 so far this year.

On May Day, he reported, "More than 20,000 compatriots marched for wage increases, in defense of human rights, and to free the trade union and political prisoners." The marchers, he said, also demanded a continuation of the dialogue between the government and the liberation forces.

"Together, the workers of El Salvador and the workers of the United States should demand of the Reagan government an immediate halt to the economic and military aid to this murderous regime."

And, he added, the Salvadoran people

Sandinista youth send greeting to YSA

The following are excerpts from the greetings sent to the Young Socialist Alliance convention by the JS-19, the Sandinista youth organization of Nicaragua.

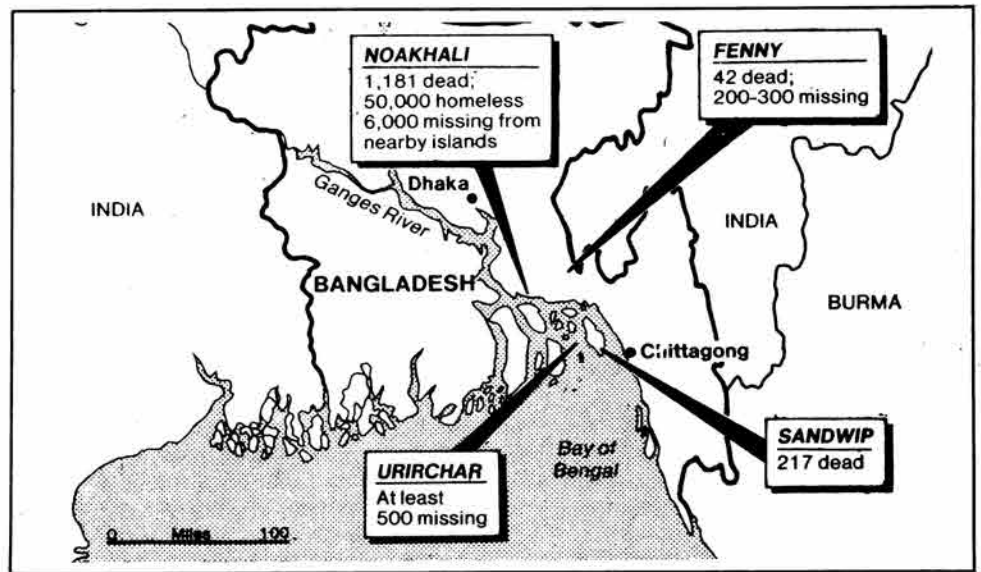
Compañeros and compañeras of the Young Socialist Alliance:

Dear Comrades: From free Nicaragua, the Sandinista Youth, JS-19, sends you fraternal greetings of solidarity. We salute the compañeros of the Young Socialist Alliance on the occasion of the 24th annual convention and the 25th anniversary of the founding of that fraternal organization.

The people and youth of Nicaragua who confront the brutal aggression of the Reagan administration against our country address ourselves to the North American youth with the desire of widening and strengthening our friendship, solidarity, and cooperation.

Here in free Nicaragua, thousands of Sandinista youth fight like fierce cubs to defend our sovereignty, independence, and the future of peace that we conquered on July 19, 1979.

The U.S. government wants to drag North American youth into war to further its plans for direct military intervention against the people of Central America



Last year a major flood between May and September destroyed one million tons of foodgrain. Bangladesh annually imports foodgrains to help feed its people. This in a country that has abundant water, rich soil, and some deposits of natural gas.

The root cause of Bangladesh's poverty and failure to adequately prepare for "natural disasters," however, is not what the

big-business media claims: the corruption of this military regime and previous regimes.

While this corruption exacerbates the situation, the real cause of the poverty is years and years of imperialist exploitation. Tens of thousands of Bangladeshis have died and will continue to die until that domination is ended.



Militant/Michael Maggi

Representatives of liberation struggles around world spoke at convention rally

"say no to the policy of apartheid in South Africa and we say no to the embargo of the heroic people of Sandino."

Josefina Ellizander of AMNLAE, the association of Nicaraguan women, pointed out how ridiculous it was for Washington to accuse tiny Nicaragua of being a threat to the security of the United States. What they really fear in relation to revolutionary Nicaragua, she added, "is that the people of the United States will follow our example."

She said that the trade embargo imposed on Nicaragua would create problems for

that country, that it would cost more to buy things from other countries traditionally obtained here, but that Nicaragua has already established trade relations with a number of other countries and would survive the difficulties of the embargo.

She saluted the YSA for its contribution to building a movement here in opposition to the war against Nicaragua.

In Nicaragua, she declared, "It is the youth who are working and fighting to defend their revolution." She was convinced, she added, that with the solidarity of people in the United States, "especially the youth," that the drive to crush the Nicaraguan revolution would be defeated.

Laura Garza pointed to the inspiring struggles of the peoples of Central America and South Africa as sparking the growing solidarity movement here and internationally.

Oppression of Black people in South Africa, she observed, has existed for a long time, "but it is the battle of the South African people against it today that makes the whole world respond and take sides."

The same, she said, is true of El Salvador. "They long suffered these evils. What brought them to the attention of the world was their decision to fight, to take their destiny back into their own hands."

"In Nicaragua," she continued, "this fight was won" and now their stubborn resistance to the U.S. threat inspires ever greater solidarity.

Declaring that the danger of direct use of U.S. troops was real and growing, she noted Secretary of State Shultz's ominous statement that the U.S. government was nearing an "agonizing choice" on the dispatching of troops.

She declared that the YSA would work "aggressively" to build a united movement against the war.

Noting the success of the April 20 demonstrations and other antiwar actions and the need for continuing actions in the fall, she declared that the YSA would work to help "turn this hot spring into a hot summer and a fiery fall!"

Economic crisis leads to social unrest in Latin America

Castro interview on foreign debt

This is the fourth part in a series in the *Militant* in which we are reprinting the entire text of Cuban president Fidel Castro's major interview on Latin America's foreign debt. The first three parts can be found in the May 10, May 17, and May 24 issues of the *Militant*.

The interview with Castro was conducted by Regino Díaz on March 21 of this year for the Mexican daily *Excelsior*. It is entitled, "How Latin America's and the Third World's unpayable foreign debt can and should be canceled and the pressing need for a new economic order."

In a detailed analysis of the crushing \$360 billion foreign debt saddled on the Latin American countries, Castro shows how the imperialist system works to rob the wealth of the semicolonial, underdeveloped economies, and how at the cost of human suffering and impoverishment, enormous wealth is taken from these countries to finance the advanced industrialized powers.

Castro demonstrates that it is impossible — as well as unjust — to pay the debt. He discusses the social and political impact of demands by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to impose austerity measures on the already impoverished and suffering people of Latin America in order to pay the debt. He points to the social upheavals which must occur in response to the crisis.

Castro proposes that the Latin American countries unite to refuse to pay the debt. He proposes that the industrialized capitalist powers assume the debt by cutting their military expenditures. Castro discusses this as a first step in breaking the hold of the advanced industrialized powers over the underdeveloped and Third World economies. Capitalist countries taking on the debt would be a step towards more just and fair economic relations.

Castro's interview has been widely publicized internationally, and the ideas and proposals presented in it are having a broad impact and winning support, especially in Latin America.

The Cuban government has issued the interview as a pamphlet put out by Political Publishers, Havana. This underlines the importance they attach to the analysis and proposals in the interview as part of a political campaign.

The following section begins with Castro's continuation of his explanation for the debt crisis. In the last installment he had concluded explaining the drain on Latin America's economies as a result of the pol-

icies of the industrialized capitalist powers, which include overvalued dollars, exorbitant interest rates, unfair trade relations, flight of capital, protectionist policies, and the promotion of repressive, bloody governments to enforce these policies.

Bracketed material and subheads are added by the *Militant*.

* * *

(Fourth of a series)

Castro. Alfonsín isn't to blame for those problems, nor are Sanguinetti, Tancredo Neves, the leaders who will be chosen in the upcoming election in Peru, Belisario Betancur, Febrés Cordero, and Siles Suazo, because they simply inherited those problems. [Raúl Alfonsín, president of Argentina; Julio María Sanguinetti, president of Uruguay; Tancredo Neves, elected president of Brazil in January 1985, died before assuming office; Belisario Betancur, president of Colombia; León Febrés Cordero, president of Ecuador; Hernán Siles Suazo, president of Bolivia.] Pinochet can be blamed for a large part of them, because of his fratricidal coup and his enthusiastic contributions to and cooperation with that policy for nearly twelve years. [On Sept. 11, 1973, Gen. Augusto Pinochet took power in Chile through a bloody coup that crushed a popular upsurge and overthrew the government of Pres. Salvador Allende. Since that time, Pinochet's brutal dictatorship has been a champion of imperialism's economic policies.] The government of Panama and the government of Costa Rica aren't to blame, nor is the government of Mexico or the government of Venezuela. In short, as a rule, I should honestly say that all these aspects make for a situation that escapes the control, the desires, and the wishes of governments.

I believe that it is of decisive importance and absolutely necessary to solve the problem of the debt — and to do so without delay. If this isn't done, none of the democratic processes that have been initiated can be consolidated, because the same economic crisis that made the military withdraw from public administration, practically in flight, in such countries as Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, will drag the democratic processes that have been inaugurated in those countries into the whirlwind of insoluble difficulties, social tensions, and economic problems.

Pinochet's methods and even the Dominican Republic's methods for imposing the International Monetary Fund's

New 'Castro Speaks' book out soon

NEW YORK — Pathfinder Press has announced publication of a timely new compilation of speeches by Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro.

The book is entitled: *Fidel Castro Speeches 1984-85: War and Crisis in the Americas*. It will be available in July.

The book includes seven speeches by the Cuban leader and five recent major media interviews.

In addition there is an interview with Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, a central Cuban leader, which appeared in Cuba's *Granma Weekly Review*.

Among the interviews with Castro is the text of the MacNeil/Lehrer four-part PBS interview.

There is also a complete transcript of a four-hour interview with *Washington Post* reporters, of which only a portion appeared in that paper.

In these interviews, Castro deals with a range of key issues, including U.S.-Cuban relations, the U.S. war in Central America, Cuban-Soviet relations, the gains of the Cuban revolution, the issue of political prisoners in Cuba, and more.

There is also the text of the widely circulated interview in the Mexican daily, *Excelsior*, which the *Militant* has been serializing, dealing with the explosive

issue of the Latin American debt. Even Latin American governments not friendly to the Cuban revolution have reacted positively to Castro's analysis and proposals on this.

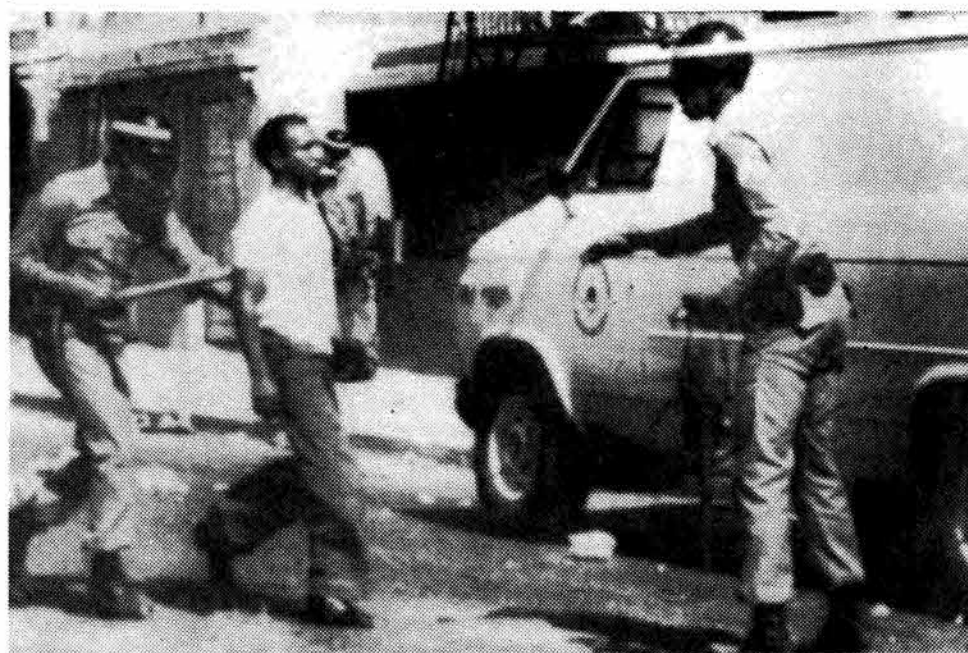
There is the important speech Castro made in Nicaragua last July dedicating a new sugar mill contributed by Cuba as an act of revolutionary solidarity with Nicaragua in the face of U.S. aggression. So far the only published English version has appeared in the magazine, *Intercontinental Press*.

The book also contains sections of Castro's interview with *Newsweek* magazine last year that were not published in that magazine. The only previous place that these excerpts have appeared in English is in *IP*.

There is a speech to Cuban students, as well as one to the congress of the Federation of Cuban Women.

Copies will be available at the addresses listed in the directory, page 16, or can be ordered directly from Pathfinder Press for \$6.95, plus \$.75 postage. The Pathfinder address is 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Pathfinder Press has also published two previous volumes of Castro speeches and interviews.



Arrest of protester during 1984 rebellion in Dominican Republic against government austerity measures, which had been demanded by IMF.

draconian measures cannot be applied in the political, economic, and social conditions in many Latin American nations — nor are their new leaders about to accept them.

Crisis is advancing

The crisis is advancing and will continue to do so. It is nothing but an illusion to believe that it can be solved with mere palliatives, debt renegotiations, and traditional formulas. I can see that many Latin American politicians of all kinds have changed their attitude. I would even say that there are fewer and fewer conservatives in this hemisphere, because many who have traditionally been considered on the right and organizations and parties that have been called conservatives are aware of how deep and serious these problems are. Who can talk to them now of the Chicago School [of Economics, adherents of the free-market theories of U.S. economist Milton Friedman], of tearing down tariff barriers, of letting those countries' nascent industries compete with the industries of the most developed countries, with high productivity and high technology? Who can persuade them to promote free competition in their own domestic markets between their countries' industries and those of the United States, Japan, and Europe? They feel very bitter and defrauded. I am speaking now of conservative politicians and individuals, not of the many intellectuals, filmmakers, artists, writers, other professionals, and representatives of a broad range of political parties, running from the center to the left, or of workers, women students, doctors, and teachers.

Revolutionary outbreaks

Therefore, I have maintained — and I have said this to U.S. citizens; to visitors from Japan, Europe, and many other capitalist and socialist countries; and to many journalists who have visited us — that the problem of the debt must be solved and the economic crisis overcome, or there will be a social upheaval in Latin America. And, if you ask me what kind it will be, I would say that there will be quite generalized revolutionary social outbreaks.

Question. Not right-wing ones?

Answer. I think not. I'm convinced that the process of democratic opening won't be threatened by right-wing military coups, and I'll tell you why. That has already happened; it was the last recourse employed to confront earlier crises that were only a pale reflection of the present situation. That was the recourse first used in Brazil more than twenty years ago, then in Chile, then in Uruguay, and still later in Argentina: strong-arm military regimes that made tens of thousands of people disappear — if you add up all the people who have disappeared, all over, they come to tens of thousands. And tens of thousands more were murdered, tortured, or forced into exile. Never before, anywhere, had such horrible repressive methods been used.

Q. What if the people vote for the right-wingers?

A. The people in several of those countries are now emerging from a veritable inferno. Their main concern is to leave that inferno behind and they often choose formulas that make it most probable, feasible, and rapid for them to emerge from the in-

ferno. We shouldn't be deceived about the development of events.

The formulas of repressive fascist military coups have already been used, and the military themselves are getting out of public administration in those countries, because they can't handle the situation. The only one left is Pinochet, and he's ever more isolated, both at home and abroad — a kind of Somoza [Anastasio Somoza, U.S.-backed dictator of Nicaragua. Overthrown by 1979 Sandinista revolution] in the Southern Cone, building up the pressure in the boiler. If he does this too long, Chile may explode with such force that it will cause more damage than has been known anywhere else. Don't you think that, in normal situations, in countries such as Bolivia, with a tenth of the problems that have occurred in the last few weeks, there would have already been enough pretexts for ten military coups?

Q. But, commander, there might be a vote for the right wing, a democratic vote for the right wing, protesting without knowing why against the progressive governments.

A. Well, I know what you're thinking about.

As a rule, in any crisis situation the party in power loses support rapidly, and the people move to the opposition parties. Wherever you have a government — if you like we'll use the classical definitions — of the left or of the right, conservative or liberal (thought these words no longer imply any great differences), in stable societies, the people move to the opposition party because they tend to blame the one in power for their serious problems and difficulties. This is a general rule, as may be seen in Europe, even though those societies are more stable.

Apart from the exceptions, if the present economic and social situation in Latin America continues to deteriorate, I don't believe that future developments are going to take place through idyllic electoral, constitutional, and political processes. This may happen in some countries; not all countries have the same situation. The situation in Venezuela and Ecuador isn't as serious as in Bolivia. This isn't a principle that can lead you to deduce that the same thing is going to happen in all countries. No. But there is no doubt that this crisis is already affecting all governments, to a greater or lesser extent. None can be excluded from this reality.

South America will explode

How do I view the situation in general, particularly in South America? I'm not speaking about Central America; these problems have been causing outbreaks in Central America for some time now. I believe that if a solution isn't found for the economic crisis — and above all for the crisis of the debt — South America is going to explode. I am deeply convinced of this. The old formulas for avoiding those outbreaks have already been applied; the instruments used throughout history have already been exhausted. The present crisis is more serious, deeper, and more generalized than ever before; the military are withdrawing from their positions in state administration; they cannot manage the countries; and they have left the civilian governments a fearsome legacy. Now the civilians have the responsibility of finding

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International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant June 1985

How Jim Crow system was toppled

The example of Selma

BY FRED FELDMAN

Twenty years ago, Selma, Alabama, was the center of a battle that helped assure the elimination of the Jim Crow segregation system in the South. Under this system, Blacks were denied basic rights by state laws in violation of the U.S. Constitution.

Abolishing Jim Crow was a gigantic victory won by Black people. It marked a huge gain for the workers and farmers of the United States — the biggest they had won since the end of the post-Civil War Reconstruction period.

In abolishing legal segregation, it opened the door to a bigger fight against the institutionalized racism rooted in U.S. capitalism, north and south.

In taking note of the anniversary of the Selma events, the big-business media focused attention on the most prominent actors in the events — Black leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and politicians like Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy — and not on the Black masses fighting for their rights.

The decisive events, in this version, occur not in the streets where the Black masses and their allies fought it out with the racist power structure, but in the halls of Congress and the White House. The issue was decided, they claim, by the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965. This won the vote for Blacks, and, together with the Civil Rights Act adopted in 1964, brought equality to Black people.

The civil-rights movement has some powerful lessons for today about how social advances are won and consolidated. The Selma struggle is an important case in point.

Selma: typical Jim Crow city

A review of the actual events shows that the deciding factor was not the passage of laws, but the mass struggle of Blacks — in the city and countryside — supported by other working people. This struggle was directed not only against the local and state governments that managed the Jim Crow system, but also against the federal government, which aided the Jim Crow state governments and refused to bring its power to bear to enforce the constitutional rights of Blacks.

Selma, Alabama — the seat of Dallas County — was typical of many cities in the Jim Crow South. Its population of 29,000 people was 57 percent Black. Yet less than 1 percent of voting-age Blacks were registered to vote, as compared to 64 percent of whites. Public accommodations from schools and restaurants to bathrooms and water fountains were strictly segregated.

Fifty-two percent of Dallas County families had an income of under \$3,000 a year.

Barring the right to vote to Blacks was a key part of the apartheid-like Jim Crow system, a system of legal segregation and discrimination against Blacks. It symbolized the complete denial of political rights. This system was imposed on Blacks by force and violence during the years following the overthrow of post-Civil War Reconstruction governments in the South, and it was preserved by force and violence.¹

1. Reconstruction refers to the period from 1865 to 1877, when U.S. troops occupied the states that had seceded from the union to form the Confederacy. During those years, Blacks and other working people scored important democratic gains and the victory over the slavocracy in the Civil War was consolidated.

During the first two years after the Civil War, the former slaveowners still controlled these state governments. They adopted Black codes, under which Blacks were pressed into contract gangs for work on the plantations.

Blacks organized in the South to resist this effort by the planters to restore virtual slave-labor conditions. They also fought for a radical land reform that would distribute the former slaveholders' land to former slaves and other small rural producers. They won the support of some sectors of the northern labor movement, as well as that of a layer of industrial capitalists and their representatives in Congress who were alarmed at efforts by the former slaveholders to reassert their political influence.

As a result of this post-war struggle, Radical Reconstruction regimes were set up throughout the South by 1867, with the mandate of the U.S. Congress and backed up by the Union army. These new governments repealed the Black codes.

In South Carolina, the Radical Reconstruction regime had a majority-Black legislature, and its social base among the freed slaves and other working people was organized through an armed militia and Union League chapters.

The most advanced of these regimes — such as in South Carolina and Mississippi — adopted progressive social legislation: civil-rights laws barring racial discrimination, progressive tax laws that taxed the rich, universal suffrage for males regardless of race, the first free public schools in these states, ex-



Martin Luther King, Jr., and Coretta Scott King leading historic Selma-to-Montgomery march in 1965.

In the Jim Crow South, the murder of Blacks by whites was, to all intents and purposes, legal. A white was rarely subject to arrest for murdering or maiming Blacks, and, if arrested, was guaranteed acquittal by Jim Crow juries and judges. The same applied to the rape of Black women by white men. For decades, lynching of Blacks by white mobs was an institution, with capitalist politicians vying for a chance to speak at the ceremonies.

These "customs" were part of a pervasive system of terror against the Black community.

As the civil rights movement began to rise in the late 1950s, White Citizens Councils emerged as open organizations of politicians, businessmen, and other white racists seeking to preserve Jim Crow. Selma was the home of the state's biggest chapter, with 3,000 members.

In Selma the local racist cops were backed up by a force of 300 white vigilantes.

By sharply dividing the exploited classes along racial lines and depriving Blacks of all rights, Jim Crow helped the capitalists keep unionization to a minimum in the South. The top union bureaucrats in the AFL and CIO

panded rights for women, and public relief systems.

But none of the Reconstruction governments had the will or the power to expropriate the big plantation owners.

The U.S. capitalist class, however, used this period to assert its full domination over the country. This ruling class opposed a thoroughgoing democratic revolution in the South.

In 1877, the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties struck a deal to end Reconstruction and withdraw the protection of the army from the Reconstruction governments.

This accelerated a reign of terror by the Ku Klux Klan, founded in the fall of 1865, and other racist terror groups and led to the fall of the remaining Reconstruction governments.

With full backing from the capitalist class nationally, the southern capitalists and landlords consolidated their victory over the next twenty years by imposing the Jim Crow system, denying all political and human rights to Blacks.

and other unions went along with Jim Crow as part of their general policy of going along with the capitalist status quo. At best they gave lip service to Black rights and the need to organize the South.

The 1955 merger convention of the AFL and CIO made organizing the unorganized, particularly in the South, a top priority. But the convention did not launch a campaign against Jim Crow — a necessary step to successfully accomplish that unionization drive.

As a result, the organized labor movement did not play a big part in the struggles that brought down Jim Crow. Black workers and working farmers, including many experienced unionists, provided the troops and often the organizers for the battle, but they had to fight without the support of the main organizations of the working class.

1963 voter-registration drive

The decisive battle of Selma took place in 1965, but the struggle there began two years before.

In February 1963, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) joined with the Dallas County Voters League, the Dallas County Improvement Association, and other local groups to launch a project to register voters in the Black community.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was made up of hundreds of student youth, predominantly Blacks. It was formed in 1960 out of the student-based demonstrations challenging segregated lunch counters and other public facilities in the South.

SNCC sent organizers to southern towns where local groups wanted help in organizing to fight Jim Crow. The resulting mass struggles in dozens of cities and towns like Cambridge, Maryland; McComb, Mississippi; and Albany, Georgia, kept striking blows at the foundations of Jim Crow in the face of violent resistance by the racist rulers.

SNCC was not the only national organization that sent organizers into Jim Crow strongholds. The Congress of Racial Equality, the NAACP, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference led battles in many cities and towns.

Before turning to SNCC for help, Selma Black leaders tried to get help from the federal government. A 1963 report from SNCC, published in the October 21, 1963, *Militant*, concluded: "The Negroes cannot count on the protection of the federal government which, at best, filed suit two years ago to enjoin the registrar's practices. But these practices go on. On the basis of past experience there is little hope that the federal government will now prosecute those presently depriving Selma Negroes of their constitutional rights."

The reference to constitutional rights was not a matter of interpretation. The 15th amendment to the constitution explicitly guaranteed the right of Blacks to vote and committed the U.S. government to use whatever means were necessary to enforce it. Together with the 14th amendment to the constitution, guaranteeing equal protection of the laws to all citizens, this was all the federal government needed as legal authority for smashing the Jim Crow system.

But there was more: Title 10, Section 333 of the U.S. Code specifically authorized the U.S. government to send troops to occupy states that violated these rights.

Those commentators who portray the 1964 and 1965 laws as guaranteeing Black rights fail to explain why these laws, on the books since shortly after the Civil War, failed to do so for scores of years.

From the time the voter registration project began, the rulers responded with repression and intimidation. The Oct. 21, 1963, *Militant* reported, "The county Sheriff, Jim Clark, has attended every mass meeting held by these groups, with his gun on his hip and often with his electric cattle prod in hand."

Three hundred youths were arrested for protesting segregation. Beatings of civil-rights fighters occurred frequently.

On September 23, 1963, local capitalists — through organizations ranging from the County Bar Association and the local bank to dentists and gas-station owners — published an advertisement in the local *Times Journal* demanding that "agitation" be "put down."

Leaders in partial retreat

Like other aspects of the civil-rights struggle, the Selma struggle suffered from a retreat by the major civil-rights organizations that accelerated at this time.

On August 28, 1963, 250,000 people — 90 percent of

Continued on ISR/4

Nicaragua's peasant resettlement: how revolutionary

BY ELLEN KRATKA
AND JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

LAS SEGOVIAS MOUNTAINS, Nicaragua — One of the big-lie campaigns that the U.S. government and capitalist press is using to justify the U.S. war against Nicaragua is the slander that tens of thousands of peasants are being driven at gunpoint from their farms in the northern mountains of Nicaragua. The claim is that they are being herded into virtual concentration camps.

The more imaginative reports come complete with heartrending descriptions of peasants fleeing on foot, a few possessions on their backs tied with a dirty rag, their animals shot, crops destroyed, and homes torched by vengeful Sandinista troops.

Most outrageous was Pres. Ronald Reagan himself. On March 25 he told a group of Central American capitalists visiting Washington that the Sandinistas "are using Stalin's tactic of Gulag relocation for those who do not support their tyrannical regime."

Six-day tour

In an effort to find out the truth, a team of *Militant* reporters went on a six-day tour of this zone, the mountainous northern provinces of Jinotega and Nueva Segovia that border Honduras.

We visited a cross-section of peasant resettlements, both old and new, large and small. We got briefings from the army; national, regional, and local government officials; and Sandinista National Liberation Front activists assigned by their party to work with resettled peasants. We interviewed army, reserve, and militia officers and troops; police; relief workers; other journalists; and, most importantly, scores of displaced peasants.

We were able to confirm that thousands of peasants have had their animals shot, their houses torched, their crops destroyed — not by Sandinista troops, but by the U.S.-government organized bands of counterrevolutionaries, called *contras* in Spanish.

Thousands of peasants have been taken from their farms and families at gunpoint by the *contras*, which are led by former members of dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard. And tens of thousands more have been forced to abandon their homes by the violence and terrorism of those Reagan calls his "brothers," the *contras*.

According to the big-business media in the United States, the Sandinista army had driven peasants off their land by force. Of the many peasants that we talked to, however, none had seen any Sandinista soldiers burning homes or destroying property, and they didn't believe that such things had happened.

We did talk to several peasants who themselves had heard such reports. But they had returned to their original homesteads to check on these reports and found them to be false.

The only people we talked to who claimed to have a concrete example of such brutality were reporters from other countries who said there had been one such incident, near the town of Limay. Government officials told us we couldn't visit the area due to the military situation there.

Nevertheless, Miriam Lazo, an official of the Social Security and Welfare Institute who coordinates government relief efforts for displaced peasants, hotly denied there had been even a single such incident where force was used. She pointed out that the *contras* sometimes dress up as Sandinistas, trying to blame the government for the atrocities they themselves commit against the rural population.

Signs of U.S. terrorism everywhere

Everywhere we went in these mountains we saw signs of CIA-sponsored terrorism: streams that had to be forded because the bridges had been dynamited; burnt-out hulks of ambushed jeeps and trucks; state and private farms laid to waste; buildings and shacks riddled with bullet holes.

Everywhere we met widows, orphans, and parents whose sons had been kidnapped by the *contras* and forced to fight against their country and their revolution.

Most moving was what we saw in the community of Pantasma, about 35 miles north of Jinotega. There repeated *contra* attacks have virtually wiped out whole cooperatives, which have nevertheless been rebuilt by the survivors — overwhelmingly women and children (see accompanying article).

Lazo said that as of mid-March there were more than 180,000 displaced peasants nationwide — up from 140,000 last November.

The number itself would be a considerable one for any country. But it is all the greater for a small country like Nicaragua, with a total population of only 3 million people and under tremendous strain due to the U.S. war of aggression.

Given the relative size of the two countries, a comparable number of displaced people in the United States would be about 14 million. That's the same as the combined population of New York, Chicago, and Los



Miskito Indian at resettlement camp in northern Nicaragua. Contrary to U.S. government and media lies, Nicaraguans volunteered to leave their original homesteads or were forced to by U.S.-backed *contras*. Sandinistas are now better able to defend peasants against *contra* attacks.

Angeles — the three largest U.S. cities.

Imagine building enough housing, schools, stores, roads, clinics, and other facilities for the population of those three cities. Then imagine trying to do it without any construction equipment, with the country devastated by war, millions of young men being drafted, and with the lumber mills and other sources of raw materials being blown up by terrorists who operate with impunity from Canada and Mexico. That's comparable to the situation Nicaragua has been facing.

However, the Nicaraguan government is determined at whatever cost to provide at least a roof and a plot of land to every displaced peasant; and a schoolhouse, clinic, and child-care center for every new community. Until the farmers can reach economic self-sufficiency, this workers and farmers government is also giving them free food. In many cases it has also had to provide everything from pots and pans to clothing and tools.

Resettlement areas: a national priority

According to Alejandro Castillo, spokesperson for the regional government in Matagalpa and Jinotega provinces, there are 7,000 recently displaced families in the five northern provinces most affected by the war — about 60,000 people — who will benefit from a government emergency crash aid program to build housing, schools, clinics, and child-care centers.

As part of the austerity measures forced on the country by the war, the Ministry of Housing and Human Settlements is not starting any new housing except in the new peasants communities, where more than 3,000 are being built this year.

The Ministry of Education is building 35 new schools in the settlements, the only ones they are building in the entire country. The Ministry of Health is building 35 new clinics, and the Social Security and Welfare Institute is building 35 child-care centers. Those are the only new clinics and child-care centers they project being opened this year.

Overall, the government is spending about \$32 million creating new homes and communities for the 7,000 recently displaced families. About a quarter of the money is going for purchases of large private farms that are being immediately turned over to the peasants. In other cases the refugees are resettled on state farms with the government also giving them title to the property.

The workers and peasants government has guaranteed every family land to work, roughly in proportion to their previous holdings. The exception is families that previously had very small plots — they will receive more land. The government has also guaranteed the *campesinos* the right to decide whether they will work the land individually or collectively in a cooperative.

Whenever possible, peasants from the zones being evacuated choose where they would like to resettle. In many cases they chose large farms that already had substantial improvements, such as large buildings that could be used for housing, or planted coffee groves and other croplands.

Contras force peasants to abandon farms

Contrary to reports published in the United States, government officials say here the majority of peasants who have resettled — including the most recent wave of 7,000 families — abandoned their farms at their own initiative, without official prompting.

Miriam Lazo explained that the *contras* will often attack an isolated peasant hamlet and people will flee, staying with relatives or friends in a safer zone. It is only then that the government finds out and begins to provide emergency aid.

But many tens of thousands of people have also moved at the request of the government. In interviews with displaced people, we found the majority understood the reasons for the relocation and agreed with them.

There were cases, however, where peasants felt that, given the government request, they had no choice but to leave even though they didn't agree with the reasoning. But even in those cases no one reported being threatened with removal by force.

At the settlement of El Diamante, 19 miles north of the city of Jinotega, Víctor Manuel Herrera González, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) activist in charge of the community, explained how it was set up.

This new settlement — less than a month old — has 38 families from an area only a few miles away. CIA bands started terrorist attacks in that zone in October 1984. "The people couldn't work in peace," recalled Herrera. "There were battles, kidnappings, rapes."

Moreover, the army was hampered in carrying out operations against the *contras*. "The army consciously seeks to avoid battles in zones populated by civilians," he explained.

Due to the *contra* attacks, families started fleeing, some hoping to return when things calmed down. But authorities concluded that it was impossible to provide protection to the scattered homesteads, so the government proposed to all the people of the zone that they resettle in one place.

"We didn't just come one day with a truck," Herrera said. "First we sent a comrade from the zone committee of the FSLN who discussed with the *campesinos* and persuaded them."

"We know in many cases for a peasant family to leave their piece of land is like losing a piece of their lives. But they were also afraid. And we didn't simply tell them 'get lost' — we offered them an alternative."

A military necessity

In addition, Herrera continued, the FSLN explained to the peasants that moving away from that zone was a military necessity. The army had to operate freely in that area — including using its heavy artillery — to defend both the new settlement at El Diamante and other nearby communities.

"We explained to them that they would be caught between two fires," he said, "and that we couldn't be responsible for what might happen to them."

At first the peasants were moved to a temporary relocation center. After consulting with the peasants, the government purchased four large coffee farms in El Diamante for the new settlement, and the group arrived there at the beginning of March. Because of the war situation and the resulting shortage of labor, the four farms had been, in fact, partially abandoned. No coffee had been picked this year.

From the point of view of the country's overall productive capacity, the move made sense. It means large croplands will be rehabilitated and producing once again within a year, whereas they would have been irretrievably lost otherwise.

The process of setting up other new settlements some times diverged from this example.

The Santa Rosa armed self-defense cooperative is about 9 miles outside Ocotal. On self-defense cooperatives the peasants, who work the land collectively, are organized as military units. Farmers living in hills near what was then a deteriorating state farm took the initiative and asked the government to let them relocate outside Ocotal and work it as a cooperative, because the *contras* were constantly passing through their hills, taking their food, and trying to kidnap young men. The government readily agreed.

La Estancia

La Estancia, just south of Jalapa, was a similar case. More than two years ago counterrevolutionaries succeeded in driving the scattered peasants from their homesteads in that zone. Those families resettled in Jalapa on an emergency basis and eventually decided to set up a

nary government meets challenge of U.S. war

permanent settlement in their old area. The difference was that the campesinos would be living in what is, in effect, a little village of 80 families. Not only is the place easier to defend, it has also meant a broadening of the campesinos' cultural and social horizons, and a significant improvement in government services available to them.

They now have a clinic, a dining room for small children, a child-care center, a school, adult education classes, and a people's store. Outhouses have been built and workers from the Social Security and Welfare Institute have instructed parents on basic health and hygiene, leading to a big drop in infant mortality. According to Miriam Lazo of the institute, before the revolution began its health campaigns, 20 percent or more of peasant children did not live to their first birthday. The leading cause of death was diarrhea due to unsanitary conditions.

La Estancia is being expanded with 50 new families. These families had arrived within the last two weeks and some were still living in tents.

They were evacuated very quickly, sometimes only with two days' notice. We talked with several campesinos who had received perfunctory or no explanations. "I came because the authorities were taking people out," said Lucio Paguás. He said he had never been given any explanation by government officials: "I never talked with them, but surely it was because of the contras."

None of these new families at La Estancia had yet been told that they would be able to join the cooperative or receive their own parcel of land.

Asked about this, Ricardo Ramos Cáceres, a member of the cooperative's executive board, said the families should have been told, but that at any rate in the next week the board would meet with the new families, explain to them how the cooperative functions, and invite them to join as full members.

He said the peasant's own choice in the matter would be respected, including for strictly practical reasons. "For a cooperative to function, there has to be agreement, otherwise people won't work."

In the settlement of Las Colinas, north of Yalí, we found recently evacuated families who understood and agreed with the reasons for the move and others who did not.

Juana Valentina from the area of Santa Elena had arrived only three days before. "I don't know why — nothing was happening there."

We asked what the army had said. "Nothing, only that we should leave there because they were going to bomb. What I say is that since nothing like that has happened, it was a lie."

But Reyna Isabel Herrera López, who had been at the settlement a little longer, contradicted Valentina. "We see this as being good. We were afraid. There was fighting in Santa Elena. We had to leave because it was very dangerous in that place."

'We are armed to the teeth'

All the settlements we visited were guarded by regular army units, militia, or both.

In the Miskito Indian settlement of Abissinia, about 35 miles east of Jinotega, there are militias and a permanent local army unit. This unit included draft-age Miskitos who volunteered to join it so they could serve their required two years while staying in the community. Defense is organized in a similar way in other places.

Both Santa Rosa and La Estancia are armed self-defense cooperatives. La Estancia is practically the first line of defense against contras crossing from Honduras. "We are armed to the teeth for self-defense," said a member of La Estancia. As a result, there have been no contra attacks in a long time.

Contrary to what has been printed in the U.S. capitalist press, Sandinista soldiers are there to protect the refugees, not prevent them from leaving the communities or going back to their old homesteads.

At the Miskito settlement of Abissinia, we were told that during Holy Week in April, a traditional vacation time in Nicaragua, several families had gone to spend some time on the Río Coco, the homeland of the Miskitos. The Miskitos had lived along the river dividing Nicaragua from Honduras until U.S.-sponsored terrorism forced the government to relocate them in 1981.

In El Diamante, the army's elite Irregular Warfare Battalion (BLI) has helped the refugees make several trips back to their original homesteads to bring back more animals, tools, and other things.

In both Abissinia and El Diamante the rumor had gone around that the army had destroyed the peasants' original homesteads after evacuating them. In both places — with army help — the refugees had been able to visit their original communities and confirm this was not the case.

In no settlement did we find any indication of hostility, distrust, or fear of the Sandinista soldiers.

Another charge launched by the U.S. big-business press is that the resettlement program is aimed at depriving CIA bands of food and intelligence from a sym-
 pathetic peasant social base. This is also a lie.

tic peasant social base. This is also a lie.

The resettlement program will deny recruits, supplies, and information that the contras had been obtaining from many campesinos. But in the big majority of cases the campesinos cooperated with the contras not out of sympathy, but out of fear.

In El Diamante, Claudio Herrera Gutiérrez, a well-off peasant, explained that whenever the contras would come by, local residents would feign sympathy and agree to sell them supplies. "They were armed men," the campesino said. "There was nothing we could do."

He also said that the contras had come by to kidnap his son. "They were pointing their guns at him. So I told him, loudly, 'Go with them, they're fighting for a good cause.' Then I gave my son a farewell hug and whispered, 'be very careful, it's the Guard.' And I told him to come back as soon as he could escape." He returned within a few days.

Despite his behaviour when the contras were around, Claudio Herrera has no difficulty figuring out which side he's on.

"In those days," he said, referring to the times when the hated National Guard ruled the country, "a poor man couldn't even get a loan at the bank."

With the July 1979 revolution he was able to get his own farm, more than 30 acres. With several sons in their teens and early 20s, and with help from the government and the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers, by 1983 Claudio Herrera was well on his way to becoming a rich peasant. That year he had received — and paid back — the equivalent of more than \$10,000 in bank financing.

At the Miskito community of Abissinia, Jesús Orozco, a member of the settlement's executive board and of the FSLN, told of being kidnapped by the contras while traveling along the Río Coco in 1981.

"I threw my politics overboard," he said, "and told them that if I could finish this trip, the next time I would go with them. I was seven hours with them."

After massacre, life rebuilt at Pantasma

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

PANTASMA, Nicaragua — Driving into this resettlement camp located in a rich agricultural valley north of the provincial capital of Jinotega, a battered pickup truck pulled up behind us. Crowded into the back were several women and a legion of children.

Mercedes Pérez García, whose face seemed to have etched on it every one of her 54 years, explained: "They murdered my son-in-law, three brothers."

Who did it? She hadn't seen it, but had no doubts: "Surely it was the contras. They came and took them away at about six in the afternoon. They took them to a place a little ways away. Later we found them there."

Doña María's husband had also been murdered by the contras. "My husband, they also killed him, Oct. 18, 1983."

That was a date we would hear several times during our visit to Pantasma. A force of some 600 counterrevolutionaries surrounded the valley, overcoming the resistance of a few dozen militiamen, leaving dead campesinos and burnt houses in their wake.

There had been 20 members of the Juan Castil Blanco agricultural cooperative when the contras came. When they left, there was one. There had been 20 houses of dirt-poor peasant families that for the first time in their lives had begun to see the first rays of dawn on the horizon. By the time the contras left, there were no houses,



Militant/Ellen Kratka
 Mercedes Pérez García, survivor of contra massacre, is now part of Pantasma cooperative made up of widows.

Even though the resettlement is being carried out with maximum concern for the peasants' needs, the process of being uprooted is still painful for the majority of refugees.

It was probably most painful for the Miskito Indians, who were the first to be relocated in 1981. They had to be taken to zones well away from the border, which meant removal from the area they view as their homeland. It meant disruption of their traditional way of life. As a result, returning to "our river" is the most heartfelt aspiration of the Miskitos we interviewed.

We want peace

"The people still want to return to their place," said Jesús Orozco of the Abissinia settlement. "The people want the war to be over so that our river is in peace. But it's not worth returning so that the contras can take us to Honduras."

"We want peace," he continued, "We want to live there. But if the war continues, we can't. So we are fighting, we are joining the defense, so that this war ends. Even if I don't go because I'm dead, my family will go." Most of the recently resettled *mestizo* farmers — both Miskitos and others — expressed the same sentiments.

Of those who had been resettled already for a year or two, on the other hand, most said they didn't plan to return.

"Now we are living better," explained Filomena Zamora Blandón, a member of the Santa Rosa cooperative who is in charge of the children's dining room. "We can go to the towns more easily. We have a people's store. Now it's not a pound or two that comes here. Now it's hundred-pound sacks of rice and beans. We have everything at hand."

Would she return to her old farm when the war was over? "Before we thought yes. But we have a school, adult education — all of us are going to study — houses are being built. As of now, I don't believe I'd be going back. Despite everything, for us resettling has been a conquest."

no sheds, no food stocks, no tools, no machinery: only 19 widows and more than 100 orphans.

"We were left with nothing, nothing — we only saved our own lives and those of the children," says Laura Vásquez Gadea.

"We did not run, we resisted. The women were inside the house with the children; there we resisted the whole battle. It started at about 5:30 in the morning, and when they took us out of the house, it was 11."

"They shouted that the women who were in the houses should come out, but we thought it was the *compas*," the short version of the word *compañero*, by which Nicaraguans affectionately refer to members of the army or militias.

"But imagine our surprise when we went out and saw that those shouting at us were a bunch of hairy, dirty ones. They weren't our people, and they kept their rifles pointed at us."

The contras took them to a house, forced them to cook food for them, and told them not to move from that place.

"We expected the worst — that they were going to mow us down with the children in the first row."

But the widows and orphans of the Juan Castil Blanco cooperative were lucky: their lives were spared. "When the chief came he told us to go find places to sleep, that they would return, and that they did not want us to have relations with *piricuacos*, because we would meet the same fate as our husbands."

Piricuaco is Miskito for mad dog. It's the word the contras use for supporters of the revolution.

Serapio García Benavides, a young farmer and activist of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers assigned to work with this cooperative, explained the cooperative had recently been moved about three miles, as part of the government relocation program. "All the people came, no one remained in the other place," he said. Then, pausing for a moment to think, he added, "except for the comrades who were murdered." Women are now the members of the cooperative, along with the husbands of those who have remarried.

"All the women have been working, raising production," says Laura Vásquez Gadea.

With the help of a brigade of volunteers from the German Federal Republic, the Ministry of Housing has built small houses for the families of the cooperative.

A children's dining room is planned so the children will have a place to go while their mothers are working, and a school for training in agricultural skills will soon be built.

How Jim Crow system was defeated: the example of Selma

Continued from ISR/1

them Black — marched on Washington. The march, initiated by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. — the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference — and supported by all the major civil-rights groups, was a show of Black determination to end Jim Crow.

The leaders of these organizations increasingly viewed efforts to reelect liberal Democratic Pres. John Fitzgerald Kennedy as an axis of civil-rights activity. Kennedy was voicing support to new civil-rights legislation. Sectors of the Republican Party, on the other hand, saw a chance to broaden their support in the South by appealing to supporters of Jim Crow.

The leaders focused the march on the call for the passage of the civil-rights bill proposed by Kennedy. They gave less emphasis to the fact that existing federal laws committed the president to use all necessary force, including troops, to enforce the right of Blacks to the vote and to equal protection of the laws.

John Lewis, head of SNCC, prepared a speech for the August 28 rally that sharply criticized Kennedy and the Democratic Party for failing to protect Black rights. The speech was censored to remove these remarks. Lewis reluctantly went along with the censorship. The unexpurgated text of his speech was later published in the September 9, 1963, *Militant*.

The electoralist idea of lobbying for a civil-rights bill and reelecting a liberal president proved ineffective. The defenders of Jim Crow tried to retake the offensive.

Three weeks after the Washington rally, racists bombed a church in Birmingham's Black community, killing four Black children.

This sparked a wave of outrage, including demands by King and others that Kennedy send troops to Alabama to defend the rights and lives of Blacks and put a stop to racist lawlessness. Kennedy refused, and protests began to focus on his refusal to defend Black rights. Kennedy agreed to meet with King and others. King then decided to drop the demand for federal troops.

The big-business media seized the opening represented by the partial retreat of the Black leadership by launching a propaganda campaign around the theme that Blacks had pushed too far and were creating a "white backlash." One indication of this, they said, was the support for an open opponent of civil-rights legislation like Barry Goldwater for the Republican presidential nomination. Blacks were warned to turn away from direct action for their rights if they wanted to keep their friend Kennedy (later Johnson, after Kennedy was assassinated in November) in the presidency and keep Goldwater out.

Congress further watered down the civil-rights bill proposed by Kennedy. By the time it was adopted in June 1964, it offered no real guarantees of enforcement of voting rights or of equal access to public accommodations.

While pretending to be helpless when it came to protecting Black rights, the federal government pushed prosecutions against civil-rights activists, such as a frame-up case against a SNCC activist and four local Black leaders in Albany, Georgia.

On June 21, 1964, just after Congress voted on the gutted civil-rights bill, Mississippi cops led in the lynching of three civil-rights workers who were participating in a voter-registration project. Firebombings and shootings spread across Mississippi, but Attorney General Robert Kennedy proclaimed all this "a local matter of local law enforcement."

In August 1964, Goldwater won the Republican presidential nomination. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; A. Philip Randolph of the Negro American Labor Council; Bayard Rustin, vice-chairman of the March on Washington; and Whitney Young, executive director of the Urban League, responded by calling for a moratorium on all civil-rights demonstrations.

They feared that Black protests would put Johnson on the spot and make him more vulnerable to attack from Goldwater's more openly racist campaign. James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality and John Lewis of SNCC initially endorsed the moratorium call and then repudiated it.

In fact, however, the electoralist perspective of the top civil-rights leaders stymied the civil-rights movement for the time being. The civil-rights struggles that continued to occur in various localities were relatively isolated.

Malcolm X

The only nationally known Black leader who consistently opposed this course was the revolutionary Black nationalist, Malcolm X. He explained that the difference between Johnson and Goldwater was the difference between the fox and the wolf.

"The shrewd imperialists knew that the only way that you will voluntarily run to the fox is to show you a wolf," Malcolm said. "So they created a ghastly alternative and had the whole world . . . hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater."

Johnson's landslide victory in November left Blacks in the South no closer to full citizenship. The Johnson administration thought it could stall indefinitely on Black rights. It asked the U.S. Supreme Court to refuse to hear a challenge to Mississippi's voting law, under which only 5 percent of Blacks had been allowed to register. Johnson asked that the case be sent back to a lower court, which was expected to mean a two-year delay.

Battle of Selma begins again

Under these circumstances, the battle of Selma began again. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference launched a "freedom campaign" in January 1965. Martin Luther King, Jr., came to Selma to give his personal support.

On January 18, King and Lewis, SNCC chairman, led a march of 600 Blacks to the Dallas County Courthouse in Selma, where they sought to register. Sheriff Jim Clark, backed by his racist vigilante force, ordered the marchers into an alley, where they waited the rest of the day.

The next day, arrests began as Blacks demanded to be allowed in to register. On January 22, more than 100 teachers lined up at the courthouse. They were twice driven off by vigilantes who jabbed the teachers with their clubs.

King was physically attacked by a racist and later briefly held in the Selma jail. On February 8, Sheriff Clark clubbed Rev. James Bevel, an aide to King.

By February 9, arrests of civil-rights fighters since January 17 in Selma totalled 3,400.

On February 4, Malcolm X went to Selma to voice his solidarity with the struggle. He held a news conference and spoke to an enthusiastic crowd of Black youth.

When arrests failed to stop the growing movement, the local and state rulers escalated their brutality.

They sought to make an example of Blacks protesting for voting rights in the neighboring city of Marion. On February 18, some 400 Blacks attempted a peaceful march to the Perry County jail in Marion, where a civil-rights worker was being held.

About fifty state troopers waded into the marchers and spectators, using clubs and guns. At least 10 marchers were beaten bloody.

Jimmie Lee Jackson saw a state trooper beating up his mother and rushed to aid her. The trooper shot him in the stomach and then clubbed him as he lay bleeding on the ground. Taken to the hospital in critical condition, he was charged with assault by Alabama Public Safety Director Al Lingo. He died several days later.

While cops attacked the demonstrators, groups of whites began beating up news photographers.

World watching Selma

Gov. George Wallace responded to the cop riot by imposing a ban on nighttime demonstrations in Selma and Marion.

King wired Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, demanding federal protection. None was forthcoming.

On February 22, in a direct challenge to Wallace, King called for a march from Selma to the state Capitol in Montgomery to protest the state's denial of the right to vote to Blacks.

By this time, the world was watching Selma. And from all parts of the country came demands that Johnson send troops to Alabama to enforce voting rights and stop racist violence.

The demands escalated when a white minister, James Reeb, who had come to Selma to participate in the march, was murdered by racists.

Protests took place from Maine to Hawaii, in small towns and suburban areas as well as in virtually every major city. It was the biggest wave of protest since the start of the civil-rights movement in the 1950s.

Some 25,000 marched in Harlem. "One white minister, how many Blacks?" read one poster.

Another 25,000 protested in Boston, and 10,000 marched in San Francisco. One sign read, "Freedom begins at home. Send the marines to Alabama."

Students led by the University of Pennsylvania NAACP staged a 52-hour sit-in around the Liberty Bell at Philadelphia's Independence Hall. Thousands of Blacks gathered at Independence Hall to demand that Johnson act.

Opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam, which Johnson was rapidly escalating at the time, became a feature of the protests. "Out of Saigon, into Selma" was a common way of expressing the demand that Johnson send troops to defend the Black community.

Johnson's initial reaction was to maintain his hands-off position on racist violence. "I won't be blackjacked" into taking action, he snapped. The U.S. government sought to bar the Selma-to-Montgomery march, asking a federal court to enjoin it.

As the demonstrations escalated, the government began to shift its stance. The Selma protests were con-

vincing the rulers that, whatever the ups and downs of the struggle, the civil-rights movement could only become a more explosive challenge if Jim Crow continued to exist.²

On March 15, 1965, Johnson gave a speech to Congress in which he asked for new voting-rights legislation. This time the proposed bill barred tests used to exclude Blacks from voting and provided for direct federal intervention — sending registrars to oversee the registration process — upon petition of Blacks being denied voting rights. Portraying himself as a firm advocate of Black rights who had been inspired by the protests, he even intoned, "We shall overcome."

Federal troops

The heat was still on Johnson to send troops — at a minimum to protect the Selma-to-Montgomery march. "Johnson continues to evade his immediate and central responsibility — enforcement of existing federal law by intervening in Alabama with federal armed force against the criminal state and local authorities there," wrote Fred Halstead in the March 22, 1965, *Militant*.

"Federal troops should occupy Selma — and all other areas where similar flaunting of Negroes' constitutional rights exists — and arrest and remove from office the guilty local and state officials. The federal government, moreover, should arm and deputize Negro citizens there to defend themselves, police their communities and assure that elections are honestly carried out."

"Otherwise atrocities by racist thugs wearing state and local police badges will continue. The bloody attack by county possemens, the day after Johnson's speech, on a march in Montgomery, Alabama, led by SNCC Executive Secretary James Foreman is an example."

When all efforts to prevent the Selma-to-Montgomery march had failed, Johnson sent federal troops to assure it could proceed peacefully. A court order limited the March through Alabama to 300 persons. A rally and procession of 5,000 opened the action on March 21.

When the march reached the state Capitol March 24, more than 50,000 people joined in a rally for Black rights.

The confidence which had developed among Blacks was typified by a banner that hung over the Black community church headquarters of the Selma movement: "Forward Ever, Backward Never."

With the end of the march and the withdrawal of federal troops, the Alabama racists returned to their murdering ways.

A carload of racists gunned down Viola Liuzzo of Detroit, a white participant in the march.

In the wake of Selma, Black voter registration increased rapidly. The Southwide struggle for equal rights had already raised the rate of Black voter registration in the South to 40 percent by the time the voting-rights act became law. Desegregation of schools and public accommodations moved forward.³ Openly racist exclusion of Blacks from jobs became increasingly difficult. Struggles continued in Alabama and elsewhere to assure and consolidate these gains.

Despite the continued attempts at violent resistance to Black civil rights, the racist rulers had been dealt a big blow. The Jim Crow system that served them well for many decades had been destroyed. The main goal of the civil-rights movement — an end to legal segregation — was accomplished.

As the March 22, 1965, *Militant*, put it: "The whole experience is striking proof that the way to get concessions from the capitalist power structure and its politicians is not by supporting them, but by opposing them, exposing them, and putting the squeeze on them with every available lever."

2. The civil-rights movement took place in a changing economic and political framework that inspired Blacks with growing confidence that Jim Crow could be brought down.

The Chinese revolution, the winning of independence by African and other Third World countries, and other advances in the colonial revolution were important changes favoring Blacks and other working people. The unionization of a large part of the mass production workers in the United States by the CIO in the 1930s and early 1940s also weakened the racists nationally and the grip of Jim Crow on the South.

Economic changes were also placing Blacks in a stronger position to fight back. The industrialization of the South and the mechanization of agriculture led to millions of Blacks moving to cities and becoming an important part of the industrial working class — in the North and the South. This severely weakened the economic foundation of Jim Crow.

3. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously in the case of *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education* that racial segregation of public schools was unconstitutional. A year later the court directed that desegregation be carried out "with all deliberate speed."

The federal government and the Jim Crow regimes in the South got the message that they could take their time.

It was the battles of the civil-rights movement that abolished Jim Crow education and won the degree of desegregation that exists today.

Health Fund: a key issue in garment talks

BY OLGA RODRÍGUEZ

NEW YORK — Contract talks between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) Local 23-25 and the New York Skirt and Sportswear Association and the National Association of Blouse Manufacturers opened on April 2. The present contract expires May 31.

Local 23-25 is the largest single local in the international, with 26,000 members. Its contract is a key part of the outerwear negotiations under way in several East Coast cities and will ultimately affect over 100,000 members of the ILGWU and set the pace for contracts covering thousands more.

Battle lines being drawn

The ILGWU is hard-pressed in these negotiations to advance wages and benefits for the workers they organize. Garment bosses went into the talks demanding less paid holiday time and an increase from 35 to 40 hours a week as the normal workweek. The contract stipulates that workers are paid one and a half times their average hourly earnings after seven hours per day, or 35 hours per week.

In general, short workweeks and layoffs are the norm for many workers in the industry, and unemployment remains high. The current upturn in the business cycle hasn't changed that reality.

Prior to the opening round of negotiations, several locals, districts, and regions of the ILGWU organized membership meetings where workers could put forward their concerns and ideas about the contracts. Local 23-25 held a membership meeting on March 27 to hear members of the local executive board and the secretary-treasurer of the international union, Jay Mazur. Mazur laid out the challenge confronting the union as it enters the negotiations.

The local leadership stated at the outset that it cannot accept major concessions or givebacks. Garment workers, while highly skilled, remain among the lowest paid industrial workers. They average below

\$6.00 an hour. They can ill afford to give back any gains won from previous years of struggle.

Among the demands that Local 23-25 approved to be presented in the negotiations are: a wage increase with corresponding raises in the union minimums; higher employer contributions to the health, welfare, retirement, and mail-order prescription plans; an additional paid holiday; improved bereavement leave; and paid jury duty leave.

Health and Welfare Fund under attack

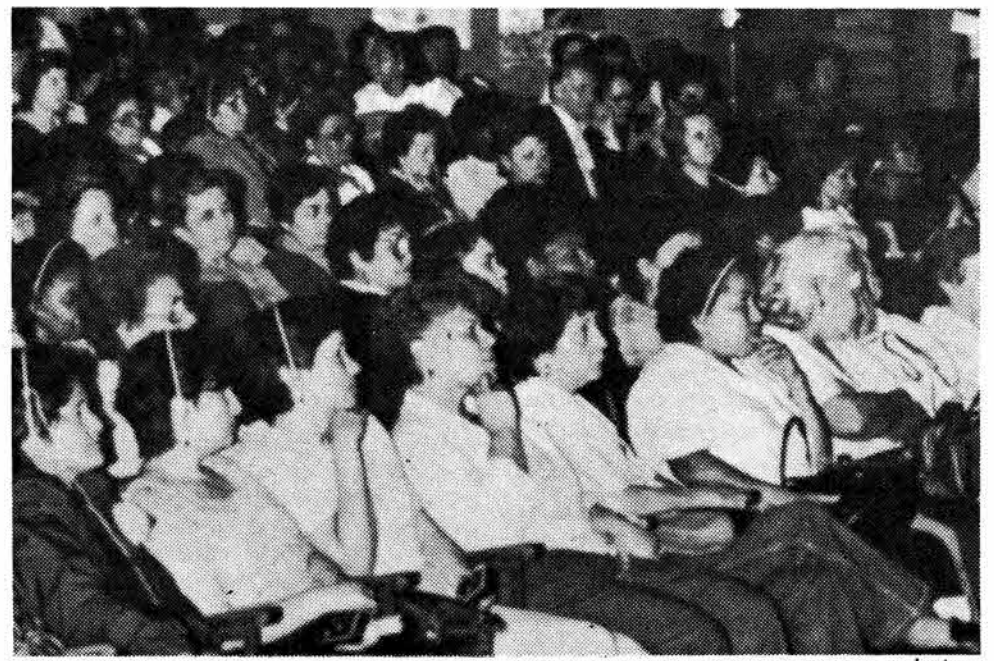
The local's demand for improved employer contributions to the Health and Welfare Fund is an attempt to recoup major losses the fund has suffered over the last year. The losses are a result of employer attacks and soaring medical costs.

The local was forced to take a series of drastic steps last winter to stave off the virtual collapse of the fund, which provides health, retirement, and vacation benefits to members. Health and vacation benefits for all members have been reduced up to 50 percent. The cuts will hit particularly hard at new hires, many of whom will have to wait for as long as a year to qualify for any health coverage at all.

The Local 23-25 Health and Welfare Fund is administered by the local. It is the way that the more than 500 employers, who make up the bosses' association and who hold contracts with the local, provide for the health care, retirement, and vacation pay due the workers in their shops. The fund is supported by the monthly payments of employers in the association. The amount the employers must pay is determined by the contract.

Bosses refuse to pay

Despite these contractual obligations, however, the reality is that some garment bosses have been able to get away with not paying the full amount due, or any at all, into the fund. Some close their shops and reopen under new names. Others are months behind in their payments.



Justice International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25 members listen to report at March 19 New York meeting. Workers are wearing earphones for simultaneous translation to Chinese and Spanish.

Faced with this crisis, the local leadership requested that the section of the contract that designated the amount of the employer contributions to the fund be reopened. This request was denied. The bosses argued that it wasn't necessary since negotiations on a new pact were soon to begin.

In order for the local to continue insuring full benefits to its members last year, it was forced to pay out more than was collected from the garment bosses. The crisis came to a head in the fall. A local membership meeting at the end of November then approved the executive board's proposals for how to deal with the situation. The local decided to take out a \$10 million loan to enable the Health and Welfare Fund to pay members' benefits for 1984. Effective January 1985, the annual deductible for major medical coverage increased from \$100 to

\$200. Vacation checks were cut in half and no vacation pay will be issued to workers who earn less than \$2,200 per year.

The right to health coverage — to use the modern union clinic in New York and receive major medical coverage — is now pegged for the first time to a worker's quarterly earnings. Thus, a worker must earn \$4,400 or more annually to be covered for the full year. Others risk losing protection for part of a year if they are unemployed for a period of time — a situation that confronts most garment workers. Moreover, members for the first time will now have to pay toward medical coverage for their families.

Unity of membership key

Edgar Romney, manager of the local, explained to the March 27 membership meeting that unity of the membership was more urgent than ever in the tough struggle ahead to win a just contract. Many members are justifiably outraged at the cuts in their benefits and are anxious for the union to take necessary steps to ensure they are restored in full. Some had been under the mistaken impression that their union dues paid for the benefits, but, as Romney explained, "only employers' contributions pay for your health benefits... because of the contract they signed with the union."

This point is important for union members to absorb. Some garment bosses are now attempting to turn workers in their shops against the union because the union was forced to cut benefits. Some bosses are telling workers that the union isn't necessary, since it can't even provide health benefits. These bosses are even promising workers that if they leave the union, they will pick up costs of such benefits.

In a response to this cheap union-busting tactic, the local leadership has been explaining the facts to the membership. It is the bosses, not the union, who are responsible for the cuts. And only a united fight by the union to force the bosses to increase their contributions to the fund and to live up to the contract will restore the benefits members have lost and advance and improve them in the future.

There is no question that the cut in benefits represents a major blow to members of Local 23-25. These benefits were a major conquest and are an important adjunct to the wages these workers receive. Despite the low wages, union members had at least been able to count on decent medical care for themselves and their families regardless of the situation in their shops.

The full impact of the cuts will only begin to be felt this year. As the cost of medical care continues to skyrocket and inflation steadily erodes the already small paychecks garment workers receive, it will be more and more difficult for these workers to make ends meet and get decent medical care at the same time.

The fight the union has launched to make higher employer contributions to the fund a key demand in the contract negotiations is an important one. What is at stake is a battle to maintain the gains won by garment workers as the bosses drive to take them back. It is a battle that all workers can identify and solidarize with.

Medical care is basic right in Cuba

BY HARRY RING

For most working people in this country getting decent medical care is usually a big hassle and, with a serious illness, it can be a financial disaster. Especially when you learn how much of the costs the fine print in medical plans do not cover.

The reason for this is really simple enough. In a capitalist society where profit is king, medical care is a highly profitable industry, not a public service.

It certainly doesn't have to be that way — if you take the profits out of medical care. Cuba is the living proof of that.

When the Cuban revolution triumphed 26 years ago, there were only 6,000 doctors on the island — and 3,000 of them split for Miami.

Cuba, in abolishing capitalism, also reorganized medicine on a socialized basis. Today all medical care in Cuba is free. And major health authorities, here and internationally, agree it's one of the finest health-care systems anywhere.

At the end of April, Cuba hosted an international exhibit of the very latest in medical equipment and instruments. At the close of the exhibit Pres. Fidel Castro addressed the exhibitors and many visitors. He discussed some of Cuba's recent gains

in the medical field.

One of these was the establishment of intensive-care units in pediatrics hospitals. In the first six months of the operation of these units, 14,000 children were treated who were in critical condition from accidents or illness. Of these, Castro said, 93 percent were saved.

These intensive-care units are now available to children throughout Cuba and, he emphasized, are on a par with any in the world.

He didn't even bother to mention that the care is totally free.

Also in the field of child care, Castro reported, work is being developed on surgery for children with congenital heart disorders. And, he added, "I'm sure it will save many lives."

Moreover, he said, Cuba's advances in children's intensive-care units are being made available to other Latin American countries.

One intensive-care unit, he said, is being donated to Bolivia, which is experiencing a particularly deep economic crisis.

The equipment is being installed in the pediatric hospital in the capital city of La Paz and Cuba is training the doctors, nurses, engineers, and other personnel

needed to operate it.

Discussing how Cuba's medical plan is proceeding, Castro recalled the 3,000 doctors the revolution began with, and said there are now 20,500 Cuban doctors. Of these, 1,500 are working abroad, primarily in Third World countries. Where the situation calls for it, they do so without cost to the countries involved.

In Cuba itself, he stressed, what is regarded as decisive is not simply the big increase in the ratio of doctors to the population as a whole, but how they are distributed.

If there are 50 workers aboard a fishing boat, a doctor is needed aboard that boat. The same, he emphasized, applies to factories and schools.

Cuba, he explained, is also developing a new concept of family doctors.

In addition to the network of hospitals and polyclinics, he said, they try to have a doctor for each community of 120-130 families.

When people need to see a specialist — they go to a medical unit.

"However," he added, "these family doctors have the medical record of every resident of the community. They are familiar with all the risk cases: circulatory problems, cardiac problems, blood pressure, kidney trouble, diabetes..."

"These doctors not only tend to the residents who come to see them. They also visit the patients at home, especially the risk cases, to see what they are doing, whether they are following treatment and also what kind of life they are leading and its effect on their health."

"They have the fat people running and the old ones walking."

Commenting on the extreme shortage of medical care in the countries dominated by imperialism, Castro offered a simple, powerful thought:

"Just imagine what it would mean to humanity if one-third of military spending were devoted to medicine, public health, and medical equipment!"



Cuban medical clinic

Mo. food profiteers hit by demonstration

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

ST. LOUIS — Unionists joined farmers at a picket line on May 21 in front of the Stouffer Concourse Hotel here in St. Louis. Inside Agriculture Secretary John R. Block addressed a lunch hosted by Missouri Gov. John Ashcroft as part of the "Missouri Agriculture Celebration."

The picket line of 50 filed past the smoked-glass windows of the hotel's lobby where the well-heeled beneficiaries of Missouri's \$17 billion Agribusiness industry were gathered together to celebrate their profits. Picketeers carried signs reading "What's to celebrate," "UAW stands with family farmers," and "Freeze defense, not agriculture."

The United Auto workers (UAW) had a strong presence on the picket line. This included Jerry Tucker, sub-director of UAW Region 5, John Webster, president of the Greater St. Louis UAW CAP Council; Charles Cochran, editor of the UAW Missouri State News; George Burr, vice-president of UAW Local 110; several rank-and-file members of his local; and several members of the St. Louis Area UAW Women's Caucus. There were also Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Teamsters, and United Mine Workers jackets and hats on the picket line.

In a news release issued by the CAP Council, Leonard Robinson, UAW Region 5 CAP coordinator, is quoted as saying that "there is no doubt that the trade union movement and the family farm movement must stand arm-in-arm in the struggle to change an economic system that is not working. Farmers and workers on the assembly lines have common interests. When farmers go bankrupt, they can't buy tractors, they can't buy trucks — some-

times they have trouble just buying groceries. Nearly 300,000 farms have been liquidated in the last four years, and in the same time period more than 60,000 workers who build farm machinery lost their jobs."

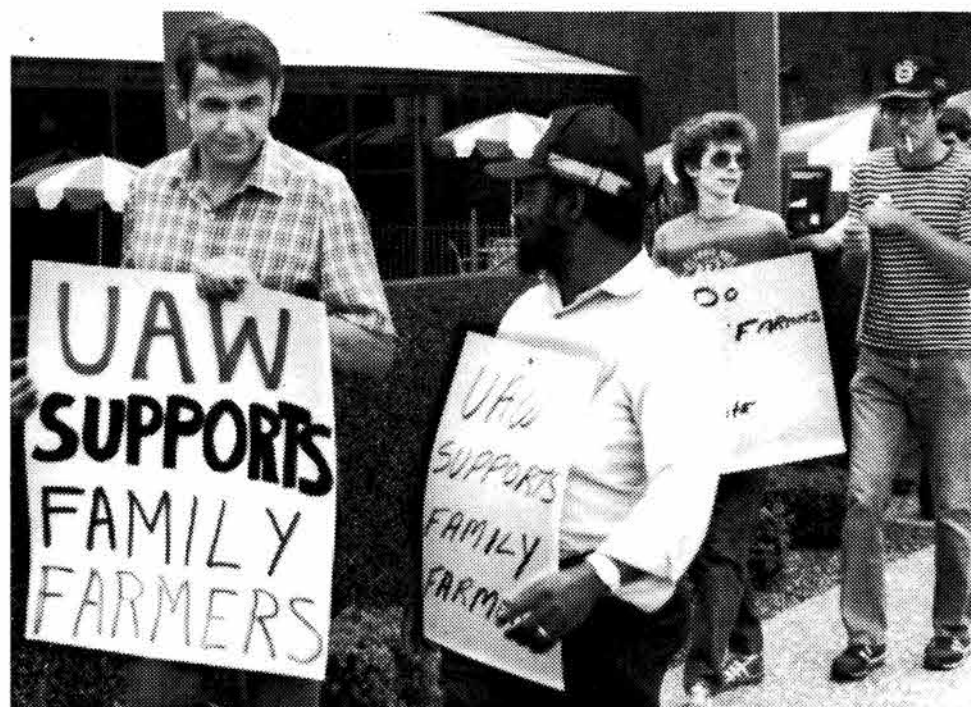
The release also makes reference to the late March St. Louis meeting that established the Farm-Labor Alliance (see April 12, 1985, *Militant*).

John Webster is quoted at the end of the release as saying that if Block worked successfully "to improve the Reagan administration farm policies, then that would certainly give us something to celebrate. But in the meantime, we don't want events such as this 'celebration' to delude the public into thinking that everything is rosy with the farmers — they're still in deep trouble."

When the protestors attempted to enter the hotel, their way was blocked by state troopers, several of whom farmers and unionists recognized as having participated in the cop attack on the farm rally in Plattsburg, Missouri on March 15.

After the picket line was over, most of the participants stayed to discuss the action and plans for future actions in St. Louis. Several bought copies of the *Militant*. One Black woman, who is an activist in the St. Louis Area UAW Women's Caucus, placed an order for one hundred "Divest now" buttons put out by the Young Socialist Alliance to distribute in her plant.

Wayne Cryts, the farmer charged with theft for taking back his soybeans from a bankrupt grain elevator, summed up the sentiments of many by saying that "them celebrating today is like Nero fiddlin' while Rome burned."



Militant/Greg Relaford

Union members and farmers protesting outside St. Louis hotel on May 21 as agribusinessmen inside celebrated their profits over lunch.

Anti-apartheid pickets arrested in Atlanta

BY KATE DAHER

ATLANTA — Nine anti-apartheid protesters, including City Councilman John Lewis and State Representative Tyrone Brooks, were arrested and charged with "criminal trespass" here April 29. They had been peacefully picketing the annual stockholders convention of IBM held at the Civic Center.

The IBM protest was one of several organized by the Georgia Coalition for Divestment in Southern Africa against businesses that invest in that country. In previous weeks both Coca-Cola and Gen-

eral Motors were picketed.

IBM accounts for 50 percent of South Africa's electronics equipment, much of it used to maintain extensive files on 7 million South Africans, including identity numbers, racial classification, photos, and place of study or work.

Moments before the picket line was scheduled to begin, Atlanta Police Major W.W. Holley declared the city-owned Civic Center and plaza "private-property." He then informed organizers that anyone attempting to walk onto the plaza would be arrested.

Over 100 people arrived for the demonstration. Many women with small children came expecting a peaceful action as planned.

But the cops were out in force. Surrounding the Civic Center were dozens of uniformed police and plain clothes cops — employed for the day by IBM. The SWAT team and cops on horseback were also present.

As chants of "Divest now" went up, Brooks and Lewis walked onto the plaza in an attempt to negotiate with police. They were arrested after they refused to recognize the changed property ownership of the plaza.

Others arrested include cochairs of the Divestment Coalition; Atlanta University professor Mack Jones; Tandi Gcabashi, a native of South Africa; and Michael Simanga, cofounder and president of the African Development Project.

On the following day, at the scheduled hearing for the nine, an emergency picket line was set up outside the courthouse. Nearly 40 people came to demand, "Drop the charges, divest now." Hundreds of passing cars received literature about IBM's role in South Africa and the previous day's arrests.

Many people honked their horns in solidarity or raised a clenched fist.

Inside the courtroom the presiding judge, at the request of Major Holley, dropped the charges without hearing arguments. In their minds, the case was closed. Not so in the minds of the demonstrators.

At the invitation of Councilman Lewis, the demonstrators proceeded to march to City Hall to attend the City Council Public Safety meeting, which was in session.

A number of demonstrators spoke to the meeting.

Both Brooks and Lewis demanded to know who gave the order for the arrests, how many cops were employed by IBM, and how city property had become private property.

Though the Atlanta City Council is on record against South African apartheid, many speakers pointed out that the city's actions of disrupting and harassing the demonstration aided the South African government.

The committee agreed to an investigation into the arrests. At the request of one of those arrested, the committee then held a moment of silence for the victims of apartheid.

New Orleans pickets protest cop brutality

BY DERRICK MORRISON

NEW ORLEANS — To commemorate the first anniversary of the brutal beating of the Clements family by sheriff's deputies, the Clements Family Justice Committee hosted a news conference and organized a picket of the Orleans Parish Criminal Sheriff's office May 17.

The activities served to publicize a million-and-a-half dollar lawsuit filed in federal court by the family against Sheriff Charles Foti, Jr., and his deputies.

Featured at the news conference were:

Rev. Jerome Owens, community activist, labor leader, and head of the justice committee; Carl Galmon and Barbara Major, leaders of the Louisiana Survival Coalition, a local antipoverty group; Ron Chisom, tenant-rights leader; Craig Shelton, anti-apartheid activist and student leader; Rev. Raymond Brown, a community activist; and Margaret Clements, plaintiff in the suit and spokesperson for the family.

A spirited picket line followed in which over three dozen people participated. The events were reported by one local TV sta-

tion and the local Black newspaper, *The Louisiana Weekly*.

The case grew out of an attempt one year ago to arrest Jewel Cobb, Margaret Clements' 36-year-old daughter, over a \$12.50 traffic-court fine. As Jewel Cobb was reaching for her wallet in the hallway of her mother's house, she, Sheila Green, her 32-year-old sister, and the 64-year-old Margaret Clements were set upon by two deputies.

The three were beaten, handcuffed, and taken down to central lock-up, where Margaret Clements' two sons, Israel, 33, and Carl, 34, arrived a couple of hours later to find out what happened. They in turn were beaten and thrown into jail.

Subsequently, only the three women were charged by the sheriff's office with assault. However, it is not the deputies but the family that has suffered and continues to suffer physical and psychological pain. They are the ones under a doctor's care, not the deputies. And some of the physical damage inflicted by the deputies has only recently surfaced. Such is the case with Carl Clements' kidneys.

For the past year the family has been trying to get the municipal court to set a trial date on the charges. It is in this court that these cases are heard and decided by a judge, not a jury. But no judge was willing to set a date. So before the statute of limitations ran out, the family went into federal court with a suit against Foti, requesting a jury trial.

As the justice committee summed up in its news announcement, "Hopefully the Clements family can receive some semblance of justice in the federal court system."

"But even this effort on the federal level will require a continuing effort to reach out and mobilize the community. This is what the Clements Family Justice Committee is all about."

"Our efforts to make people aware and conscious of the case through public meetings, socials, and family members addressing various community groups will continue."

"To the degree that the community's attention is focused on the case, that is the degree to which justice will be achieved."

Columbia University graduates stage anti-apartheid demonstration

BY CAPPY KIDD

NEW YORK — The commencement exercises at Columbia were marked by a student protest demanding that Columbia University divest all its investments in companies doing business in South Africa.

Four thousand graduates and their families wore red, black, green, and yellow ribbons (the colors of the African National Congress) as a gesture of support for divestment. The ribbons were distributed by the Coalition for a Free South Africa.

When Columbia University president, Michael Sovern, started to speak, as many as 200 graduates silently filed out of the official ceremonies. Across the campus a huge banner calling for divestment was unfurled. A majority of the several thousand present stood to show their support for the action.

After campus cops removed the first banner, Sovern began to speak again and another banner demanding divestment was unfurled from the roof of Low Library, directly behind the speakers' platform.

Those graduates who had walked out

marched to the steps of Hamilton Hall, the site of a three-week sit-in for divestment, where an alternative ceremony was organized. About 500 people participated. At this ceremony, each graduate was presented with a "sheepskin" — a rolled copy of the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress. The ceremony ended with everyone singing "Free Nelson Mandela" as red, black, green, and yellow "divest now" balloons were released.

The administration has responded to the protests with attempts to victimize those students who have been participating in the protests. As the school year ended, the school instituted proceedings against 66 of the members of the Coalition for a Free South Africa. These students face censure, suspension, or expulsion.

The university has also refused to grant diplomas to 15 of the graduates and has indicated that the transcripts of others will be withheld. These measures are being carried out in an arbitrary and vindictive manner. Through these proceedings, the university is attempting to intimidate and silence the students.

Supporters of freedom in South Africa and democratic rights at home should demand that these trials be stopped and all charges against the students be dropped. Messages of protest should be sent to Michael Sovern, President, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.

Support needed for San Jose rights fight

Continued from front page

and threats, the organizers of the tour both in San Francisco and Oakland stepped up their efforts to build support for the tour. Groups in the antiwar, Central America solidarity, anti-apartheid, civil rights, and labor movements were asked to come to the meetings and help ensure that they would not be disrupted.

On short notice, individuals from many groups responded. Among the groups represented were Casa El Salvador Farabundo Martí, Casa Cultura Nicaragüense, Casa Chile, Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Vietnam Friendship Society, and the North Star Network. Individual members of the International Association of Machinists, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union supported the effort against disruption.

The socialists also demanded that the city administration and the cops protect the two meetings.

These thugs had not calculated on the reception they would get from the Black and Latino communities in San Francisco and Oakland. The socialist bookstore in San Francisco is located in the Mission District, a community made up largely of immigrant workers from Central America. The other is located in East Oakland's largely Black and Latino community.

Large banners were outside the two buildings that read, "No to apartheid", "Raza si. Migra no!", and "No more Vietnam wars!"

'No pasaran!'

In San Francisco, the ranks of the monitors defending the meeting swelled to nearly a hundred as many people in the neighborhood joined in chanting "Si Vietnam venció, El Salvador vencerá. No pasaran!" — If Vietnam won, El Salvador will win. They will not pass!

Only a few Cuban and Nicaraguan *contras* who operate in the Mission felt emboldened enough to join the Vietnamese thugs. One woman, noting that the Vietnamese thugs were doing the work of the



Militant/Georges Sayad

Windows of socialist bookstore in San Jose were shattered by right-wing Vietnamese attempting to disrupt socialist educational conference on Vietnam.

CIA, began pointing at them and shouting "CIA." This chant quickly spread throughout the crowd. Another was "Reagan's puppets will not pass."

Attempting to provoke a confrontation, several of the thugs tried to charge the bookstore but were unable to break through the large barricade of police. The meeting ended successfully.

The next day Wang spoke at Merritt College in Oakland. About 30 of the right-wing thugs showed up and attempted to enter the meeting. They were stopped by campus security. The dean of the college also showed up, taking direct responsibility for the safety of Wang and those attending her talk.

Many in community turn out

That evening Wang spoke at the socialist bookstore in Oakland. Many people who had come out to show their solidarity in San Francisco also came to Oakland. In addition, several students active in the anti-apartheid movement at the University of

California-Berkeley campus joined the monitors. Several women from a Black community group called Uhuru House who happened to be passing by stopped their car. Upon finding out what was going on, they went to get others and returned to join in. As in San Francisco, many people in the neighborhood also turned out.

The right-wing thugs had also made a special effort. This was the last of Wang's meetings and so far they had been unable to halt any of them. This night the mob numbered over 150.

Cops come late

In addition the Oakland cops attempted to set up a provocation. The mob arrived at 6 p.m. when the program was to start. The Oakland cops, however, did not show until half an hour later. Even then only one squad car was present. A few minutes later the cops disappeared altogether. After many phone calls they finally returned, again in small numbers.

As the meeting was ending, the mob attempted a provocation by throwing eggs at the monitors. When this was reported to the cops, they claimed to see nothing. Those in charge of the monitors then asked two cops sitting in an unmarked car to come and investigate the incident. The cops responded that they had nothing to do with what was going on here. "We're just sitting in our car," they said. They were then asked to locate their commander. They answered that "He is not around."

The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party have been singled out by this mob because they dared to hold a public event to tell working people in the United States the truth about Vietnam. Through intimidation and the threat of violence, this mob hopes to silence not only the YSA and SWP, but all those who would attempt to get out the truth about U.S. foreign policy in Indochina today.

Emergency coalition established

In response to these attacks, a broad emergency coalition in defense of democratic rights has come together. Its purpose is to organize a broad speakout and protest rally for freedom of speech and assembly on June 14 in San Jose.

Among the initial endorsers of this meeting are Oakland City councilmen Wilson Riles, Jr. and John George; William McLean and Stephen Manginelli, president and vice-president of the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union Local 265; Harry Adams, president, International Association of Machinists Local 565; the Social Education Committee of the Santa Clara

County Council of Churches; Nelson Mandela Anti-apartheid Coalition at San Jose State; Santa Clara County Communist Party; East Bay Democratic Socialists of America; Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party; and Inéz Gómez, Director of Chicano Affairs, University of Santa Clara.

As yet the San Jose cops have not carried out a serious investigation of the mob attacks on the YSA and SWP. The cop that came to examine the evidence after the May 16 attack in which the windows of the socialist bookstore were broken, said that he could not immediately establish whether the rocks were thrown from the outside or inside. Subsequently, an officer from the juvenile division has been assigned to the investigation. The cops claim that they have no leads even though there was a witness to the attacks. One city official already indicated to the socialists that nothing would come of the investigations.

Messages demanding that the city halt the disruption of the socialist office and bookstore and demanding prosecution of those responsible for the attacks can be sent to Mayor Thomas McEnery, 801 N 1st St., San Jose, Calif. 95110, and Joseph McNamara, chief of police, 201 W Mission St., San Jose, Calif. 95110. Copies should be sent to SWP, 46 1/2 Race St., San Jose, Calif. 95126.

Mo. UAW members protest rights attack

A petition protesting right-wing Vietnamese attacks on the offices of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in San Jose, California, was recently circulated at a Chrysler plant in Missouri. It included signatures from 53 workers. In one plant department, all the workers signed.

The petition was titled "Concerned Members of UAW Local 110, Fenton, Mo. — Chrysler Plant 2," and read in part:

"As a supporter of democratic rights, I am deeply concerned by recent attacks on legal, peaceful gatherings by gangs of right-wing Vietnamese in this country.

"These violations of the right to free speech and assembly must be halted. I call on the city administration of San Jose . . . to take whatever action necessary to guarantee the democratic rights of all those wishing to speak out about, or discuss, the issue of Vietnam and U.S. foreign policy. Those guilty of attacks on these rights must be apprehended and prosecuted to the full extent of the law."

Newark forum features anti-apartheid fighters

BY DAVE PRINCE

NEWARK — "No Investments in South Africa — Divest Now!" was the title of a lively panel discussion held at the Newark Militant Labor Forum on May 17. Panelists included two leaders of the Rutgers Committee for Total Divestment — Marion Pitts from the Rutgers New Brunswick campus and Lafayette Little Avant, president of the Black Organization of Students, from the Rutgers Newark Campus. Also speaking were Shuping Coape, a member of the African National Congress observer mission to the United Nations; Adrian Taylor from the New Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); and Don Mackle from the Young Socialist Alliance.

Pitts is a member of the steering committee that led a 31-day sit-in for total divestment held at the Rutgers campus in New Brunswick. The action mobilized thousands of students in support rallies and marches and won wide support from com-

munity groups and unions in the area. The steering committee is now discussing with student activists around the country the next steps in the fight for divestment.

Linking the struggle against apartheid with the fight against the U.S. war in Nicaragua, Pitts said, "Constructive engagement with South Africa, destructive engagement with Nicaragua — it is incumbent on us to say that's wrong."

Lafayette Little Avant spoke of police harassment of divestment activists. He pointed to the example of cops taking photos at rallies to discourage people from participating. He denounced the killing of 11 people in the cop bombing of Philadelphia's Black community as an attack on all activists.

Panel participants also exchanged opinions on the value of electoral activity, legislation, and mass actions such as the April 20 march on Washington for peace, jobs, and justice as part of a discussion of what to do next in the anti-apartheid struggle.



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Participants in anti-apartheid forum included (from left) Adrian Taylor, Shuping Coape, Marion Pitts, and Don Mackle.

Brutal N.J. trial sentence is blow to democratic rights

BY DAVE PRINCE

NEWARK — On May 20 Timothy Blunk and Susan Rosenberg received the maximum sentence of 58 years in prison for illegal possession of firearms and explosives. Blunk and Rosenberg were convicted of the charges in March at a widely publicized "terrorist" trial here at the federal courthouse.

The two defendants state they are revolutionaries and opposed to U.S. imperialism. They refused to answer the government charges against them and are planning no appeals.

The brutal sentence imposed by Judge Frederick B. Lacey was a direct and provocative attack on political rights. Lacey noted that a normal sentence for the charges is ten years. But he ordered the maximum sentence of 58 years, with a recommendation of no parole, asserting that Blunk and Rosenberg's beliefs would lead them to violent action. The severity of the sentence was for their views, not their actions.

The sentence took full advantage of the pariah status the court and government had imposed on the defendants as dangerous terrorists. At the sentencing, Blunk and Rosenberg were shackled. Outside, a police helicopter circled overhead and a line of heavily armed police stood between the courthouse and a demonstration of 40

supporters.

During the 10-day trial, abusive treatment of the defendants was designed to prejudice the jury and the public and in effect deny the legal presumption of innocence until proven guilty.

Bail was denied, and elaborate, intimidating security measures were in force throughout the trial. Judge Lacey railroaded the case to judgment, denying a request from defense attorneys Susan Tipograph and Mark Gombiner for a three-week extension to prepare an adequate case. During the trial, any attempt by the defendants to present their political views was denied. The trial proceeded from the government case to the summations.

Mark Satinoff, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey, condemned the sentence and the trial as a blow to democratic rights. He stated, "The Newark trial continues the sharp attacks on democratic rights — in the name of fighting 'terrorism' — carried out by the government, courts, and prisons during the Brink's robbery trials. The precedents are intended to be used, as well, against other radicals, unionists, Black and women's rights activists, and antiwar activists.

"The undemocratic character of these so-called terrorist trials needs to be brought to light and opposed."

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Protest the Police Bombing in Philadelphia. Speakers: Ollie Bivens, Socialist Workers Party; Frank Greenwood, playwright. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Nicaragua After the Embargo. An eyewitness report and slideshow in Spanish. Speaker: Seth Gelinsky, recently returned from Nicaragua. Translation to English. Sat., June 8, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

Malcolm X A feature-length film based on the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 8, 7 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Francisco

Malcolm X A feature-length film based on the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 9, 5 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

San Jose

Malcolm X A feature-length film based on the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 7, 7 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Socialist Educational Weekend. Forum: "The Rising Tide of Black Power in South Africa." Speakers: Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*; representative of National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

Classes: "Popular Revolution in Burkina." Sat., June 15, 3 p.m. "Ghana: Three Years of Mass Uprising." Sun., June 16, 11 a.m. Both classes by Ernest Harsch. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. Donation: \$1.50 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Police Violence in Philadelphia. An eyewitness report by Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York. Sun., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Defend Central American Refugees! Speakers: representative from First Universalist Church and Sanctuary Project; Tom Jaax, member Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 2, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

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Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Divest Now! The U.S. Movement in Solidarity For Black Majority Rule in South Africa. Speakers: Enoch Duma, exiled South African journalist; Mel Reeves, Minnesotans Against Apartheid; Argiris Haras, member National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance; representative of African Students Association of the University of Minnesota. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 9, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The Philadelphia Bombing: The Truth Behind the Cover-up. An eyewitness report by Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York City Council President. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 1, 7 p.m. Preforum dinner at 6 p.m. 79 Leonard (5 blks. south of Canal). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Memorial Tribute to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Wed., June 19, 7 p.m. Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, 30 W 68th St. Donation: \$5. Ausp: National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. For more information and reservations call (212) 228-4500.

Case. For more information and reservations call (212) 228-4500.

OREGON

Portland

Nicaragua Under Siege. A slideshow and eyewitness report on Nicaragua's fightback against the trade embargo and *contra* attacks. Speakers: John Cramer and Amy Robinson, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Protest Cop Bombing of Philadelphia Black Community. Speakers: Richard Adams, school board director, Pittsburgh; Melvin Chappell, Socialist Workers Party, just returned from Philadelphia; Jeffrey Richardson, journalist and activist; representative from Women's Health Services. Sat., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Maurice A Cuban documentary on the life of

slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop and the Grenada revolution. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 8. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; film, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Publication Fund. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Halt the Embargo of Nicaragua! A panel discussion including recent visitor to Nicaragua. Sat., June 1, 7 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua. End the Embargo! Speakers: Tom Fiske, recently returned from Nicaragua, member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 105; Chris Horner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1103. Sat., June 8. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

U.S. army gets Bay of Pigs general

The following article is taken from the April 14 issue of the *Granma Weekly Review*, an English-language newspaper published in Havana, Cuba. The article, "With these generals, who needs enemies?", is about the promotion to the rank of National Guard general of one of the leaders of the U.S.-backed mercenaries who were smashed by the Cuban workers and farmers during the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

It made the front-page news in the Spanish-language edition of *El Miami Herald*. Not surprisingly, because for the first time in history a U.S. citizen of Cuban origin had been promoted to general in the U.S. army reserve.

Fine, except that his ascent was not exactly on what could be called a good military record. Far from it. The "honorable" soldier of Cuban origin is, of all people, Erneido Oliva, the inglorious soldier who in April 1961 led the 1,180 mercenaries turned prisoners at Playa Girón [the Bay of Pigs] to be subsequently ransomed off for aspirins and baby food.

The *Herald* tried to "embellish" the image of Mr. Oliva, now a National Guard brigadier general of the U.S. army reserve.

And yet right from the outset the paper described Erneido Oliva as "one of the main leaders of the CIA-trained troops that took part in the Bay of Pigs invasion," which is but a way of saying in two words, in the first paragraph, that this is just a puppet on a string.

The daily cannot, however, hide the sad outcome for Oliva and his mercenary brigade at Playa Girón. "Captured together with the over 1,000 members of Brigade 2506, Oliva was a prisoner in Cuba for 20 months."

The "brand-new" general, said the *Herald*, had been a career soldier in the Batista dictatorship and had begun to plot against the Revolution as early as 1960.

After the shame of being ransomed back to the United States in 1961, Oliva alternated his U.S. army position with a brief stint as "military chief" of a tiny Miami-based group of counterrevolutionaries.

According to the *Herald*, Oliva is now living in Maryland, a short distance from Washington. His promotion, it would seem, has nothing to do with the armed forces, for his military curriculum is not the best.

This mercenary chieftain has been slated to work as a National Guard "brigadier general" helping the police. Perhaps repressing demonstrations and dealing out blows he might have a better record than in battle.

His next mission will be to train Brigade 260 of the Washington police. A club and a picana [prod] would certainly be less risky than the sands of Playa Girón. Right, brigadier?

'PM' features Castro on Latin American debt

The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* features the first half of an important interview with Cuban president Fidel Castro. In the interview, entitled "How Latin America's and the Third World's unpayable foreign debt can and should be cancelled, and the pressing need for the new international economic order," the Cuban leader explains how imperialism has plundered the wealth of the oppressed countries of the Third World.

Castro outlines a proposal for the debtor countries to unite and demand a cancellation of the debt, and to resist the austerity demands of imperialist lending institutions like the IMF and the World Bank.

This issue also includes an exclusive interview with Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who has helped spearhead the struggle in Canada to secure the right of women to safe and legal abortions.

Also in the issue: an analysis of the Rainbow Coalition, an article on the role of the international grain monopolies, an

interview with a leader of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic that graphically describes the effects of imperialist-imposed austerity on his country, a report exposing the lies about the cop attack on Philadelphia's Black community, and much more.

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Breaks their heart — A Tampa, Fla., hospital cited a "communications breakdown" for its refusal to admit a comatose



Harry Ring

youngster whose mother couldn't prove she had medical insurance. If they had realized the case was serious, the child would have been accepted, the hospital assured. Assuming, of course, the mother did

have insurance.

Suggestion — Disney Studios will offer a video cassette version of Pinocchio. We think it would be a nice touch to dedicate it to Ron.

P.S. — On reflection, we realize the above suggestion is silly. If our president were like Pinocchio, his nose would match a broomstick.

Miracle of the marketplace — Westinghouse will incinerate a 15-year accumulation of PCB-contaminated waste from its dump sites near Bloomington, Ind., at a cost of \$75 million. But, the company assures, the net cost will be

much less. Fees will be collected for burning city waste, plus there'll be money from generating steam and electricity. And when the job's done, they can sell the city the incinerator.

The march of science — For a variety of reasons that we don't understand, conventional soda cans don't work in space. However, at a cost of \$250,000, researchers have developed a "Coke Space Can" that assertedly will work, and will be aboard the shuttle which goes into orbit this July.

Safety net — The army says it will investigate allegations that Maj. Gen. Daniel French of Indianapolis abused his position as

commander of the army's world financial center to promote a city bond issue supporting the Pan American games. The probers will have to move fast. The general's retiring in June to accept a position with the local organizing committee for the games.

Sociology dept. — The *Wall Street Journal* professed to find it "shocking" that 82 percent of college students surveyed admitted to watching a variety of TV cartoon shows aimed at children. Maybe they just find them as adult as most of what's available on the tube.

Cried all the way to the bank? — Alabama's Governor Wallace wept during a discussion of work-

ers' problems, an associate confides. The gov got upset when accused of helping big business, not workers. "The governor shed some tears. He's very emotional about this... very sensitive... very compassionate."

Household hint — Tiffany's is offering a 14-karat gold stapler. \$795. We thought it would be nice to have one to fasten the rent receipts.

Decorating tips — To impress house guests, we may leave that gold stapler in the bathroom sink, to go with the new chrome and stone faucet being offered by a New York shop. Approximately \$1,700.

Castro interview on foreign debt in Latin America

Continued from Page 8
solutions.

I'm not making inflammatory, subversive statements — far from it. That isn't my intention. I'm simply analyzing what is happening and what is going to happen, as serenely as possible.

Independence of Third World countries

If you ask me — as one journalist already did, "As a revolutionary, aren't you glad that this is so?" — I'm going to tell you what I think. Right now there is something more important than social change, and that is our countries' independence. This situation has brought the Third World countries to such a state of dependence, exploitation, extortion, and abuse that independence and the struggle for the new international economic order have become the main issue for the Latin American and other underdeveloped countries. Social changes alone are not the solution. Social changes may bring greater justice, speed development, and make the efforts and sacrifices of all more equitable and more humane. We have effected these changes and are satisfied that we have done so, but the considerable progress that our country has made in economic and social development wasn't exclusively due to them. It is also due to the fact that within our sphere we have — to some extent — achieved a new international economic order in our relations with the other socialist countries. Eighty-five percent of our trade is with countries of the socialist community, and, while the terms aren't the same with all of them because they have different levels of development and availabilities of resources, our relations are based on truly fair principles of cooperation and trade.

For example, in our economic relations with the USSR and other developed socialist countries, we have overcome the tragic law of unequal terms of trade that has historically governed the relations between the Third World and the developed capitalist powers. We receive fair prices for the products we export, satisfactory prices that are protected by agreements against deterioration in the terms of trade — the phenomenon through which the Third World's exports (except in unusual market conditions) have ever decreasing purchasing power, while its imports grow ever more expensive.

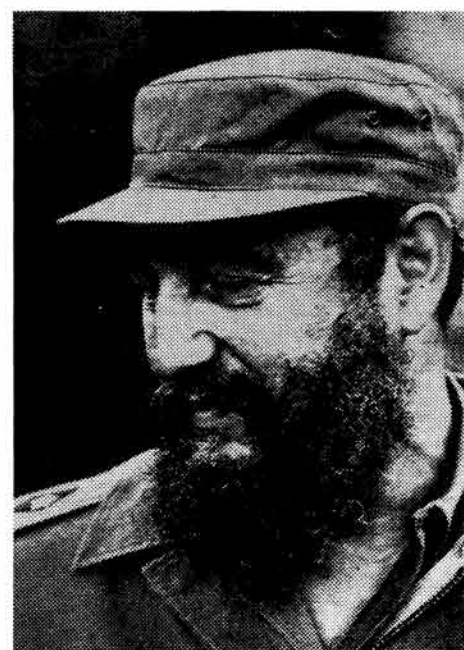
We aren't affected by protectionist measures in our trade with the other socialist countries. We don't suffer from dumping or unfair competition by socialist countries. Our financial problems, which stem from our need for development credits, have been solved without delay or difficulty. We have been able to postpone payment of our debt for ten, fifteen, and even twenty years without interest. If the industrialized capitalist countries employed the same forms of trade and economic and financial relations that we have with the socialist community, the problems I have mentioned would be solved and the Third World countries' development would be guaranteed.

New international economic order

I believe that this is of enormous importance, because, I repeat, we have solved our problems not only through social changes but also because, as a Third World, developing socialist country, Cuba has established a form of new international economic order with the rest of the socialist community. Without these foundations,

our great economic and social successes — our tremendous achievements in public health, education, physical education, and sports, the elimination of unemployment and malnutrition, and the raising of our people's material and cultural standard of living wouldn't have been possible. Nor would we be able to offer the technical cooperation we do to dozens of other Third World countries. That requires resources, large investments and credits, technology, and a great deal of international cooperation over a long period of time. Many poor countries with scanty resources couldn't make those advances without the new international economic order and without a lot of international cooperation.

Social changes can bring about a better distribution of social wealth; more justice; and more concern for the poorest, neediest classes in the country, but social change alone is not enough. Therefore, we consider that the fundamental premise for the Third World countries' independence, sovereignty, and development — and even for their right to make social changes — is the disappearance of the iniquitous system of exploitation through which the Third World countries are victimized. That is, we consider the struggle for the new world economic order — that economic order that was talked about and agreed to at the United Nations ten years ago, largely thanks to Mexico's initiatives, support, and participation — to be the most essential thing in the short term. Marx himself always considered economic development to be a premise for socialism. Experience forced a number of countries, Cuba among



Fidel Castro

them, to take the socialist road of development. Each people should decide for itself what it wants to do. I am absolutely convinced that for the peoples of the Third World, who have a great variety of systems and forms of government, different degrees of development of their productive forces, and the most diverse forms of political and religious beliefs, development is their most important current task and a vital priority for all, without exception, in which they can unite in a common struggle.

(To be continued)

United escalates attack against pilot strike

Continued from front page

ceptable to any union and was thrown down in a take-it-or-leave-it manner.

There are no plans to resume negotiations. The company says it will now hire replacement pilots, and retirees have been offered \$150 a day to return to work.

The company claims that it will be up to full strength by early next year. This claim is mostly bravado, but the plans to replace the strikers, categorized as union-busting by a union spokesperson, is a dire threat to all airline unions — especially since United pilots are the strongest chapter of the ALPA.

The International Association of Machinists (IAM) the largest union at United, which organizes most ground-crew employees, has continued to work through the strike. Regarding the threat to replace the striking pilots, John Peterpaul, general vice president of the IAM, said his organization will not stand idly by if the company "is planning to hire strike breakers". United has threatened to fire IAM members who won't cross pilot picket lines.

In the face of this escalation against ALPA, the need for labor solidarity is greater than ever. The pilots have sought

this solidarity here in Chicago by walking the picket lines with Teamster Local 744, which is striking Coca Cola in Chicago against a company two-tier demand. Striking pilots in their work uniforms have been picketing Coke, and Coke strikers have been joining the pilots picketing United.

It is clear that now is the most critical moment for solidarity. Not only the labor movement, but all the oppressed — especially Black, Latino, and women's organizations — have a stake in backing the pilots of ALPA against United's open union-busting drive.

MIAMI — The IAM announced it will issue a call to its members not to cross ALPA picket lines when it is proven that there are outside pilots actually working in United's cockpits. That is, when newly hired scabs who were not United employees before the strike actually begin to work in the cockpits. The machinists union went to court challenging United's threat to fire its members who respected ALPA picket lines. The court ruling said it would be illegal for them to do so unless the company was actually using newly hired scabs.

Pilot trainees in Denver refusing to scab for United

BY BOB BRUNEAU

DENVER — Denver is where United Airlines has its pilot training center.

Before the strike United had tentatively hired 500 new pilots. They were not actually on the company payroll, but they were receiving expenses and undergoing training. They went through the training program and got provisional licenses that required further training before they could actually go into the cockpit. This training was held up pending the results of the contract fight with the pilots. When it appeared obvious that there was going to be a pilots strike, United called the trainees back for their final training. United gave them one-way tickets to Denver and withheld their expense allowances until the strike actually began.

According to ALPA spokesperson Jaimie Lindsay, who is a United pilot, "the company tactics alienated the trainees and helped win them over to ALPA's side. The trainees did not want to be used to break the strike."

The trainees have been supporting ALPA's strike and the United pilots refuse to go back to work without the trainees now. "This latest snag in the contract is the result of corporate greed and vindictiveness," said Lindsay.

Right now the 500 trainees in Denver are not working active picket duty for ALPA but they are helping out with the strike.

They drive vans to the picket lines and do other jobs cooperating with the union. The union is paying their hotel bills so they can stay in Denver, and they are being treated like other ALPA strikers. After 30 days they will receive full strike benefits the same as all ALPA members.

The Denver strikers also pointed out that it was company greed that convinced flight attendants to support the ALPA strike. For example when the strike started, the company left the flight attendants stranded in whatever city they happened to be in. It was the pilots who collected the money to fly the flight attendants back to their home cities.

Sandinistas Speak

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Stop slaughter of Palestinians!

The slaughter of Palestinians being carried out in the refugee camps of Beirut, Lebanon, is a savage blow to the Palestinian people, the Lebanese working masses, and all oppressed peoples in the Middle East fighting against U.S. and Israeli imperialism.

The assault is being carried out by the Amal militia, which is based in Lebanon's Shiite Muslim community, and by the 6th Brigade of the Lebanese Army, which is also predominantly Shiite Muslim. Amal is led by Nabih Berri, a capitalist politician who is currently minister of justice in the imperialist-imposed government of Pres. Amin Gemayel. The terror and murder that was unleashed on May 19 against the Sabra, Shatila, and Burj al Barajinah refugee camps has continued for more than a week.

"I think more than 1,000 Palestinians died" in the Sabra camp alone, one member of Amal told *Washington Post* reporter Julie Flint.

"There is ample evidence," continued Flint, "that several dozen Palestinian males were shot dead, in cold blood, at Gaza Hospital," when the attacking forces entered the Sabra camp. Wounded Palestinians have bled to death as Amal has prevented Red Cross ambulances from taking them to hospitals. Berri's thugs have flattened buildings in the camps with tanks and bulldozers. It is estimated that more than half of the 50,000 men, women, and children living in the camps have been forced to flee.

After the first week of shelling and massacres, Flint said, "Sabra looks much as it did after three months of Israeli bombardments in 1982."

Despite the determined defense put up by the Palestinians in the besieged and occupied camps, the bloodbath represents an important victory for U.S. and Israeli imperialism. It advances their goal of totally smashing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

Amal claims its bloody crusade is designed to prevent the reestablishment of a Palestinian stronghold in southern Lebanon that could invite a new series of attacks on Lebanon by the Israeli regime. The Syrian government is openly backing Amal and the 6th Brigade. It calls on the Palestinians to enter what Syria calls a "strategic al-

liance" with Amal and other "patriotic" Lebanese forces. In other words — surrender. This stance fits into the Syrian government's effort to bring the PLO under its tutelage.

But the root cause of the violence in Lebanon is not the Palestinians' just struggle for the liberation of their homeland.

Rather it is the efforts by the Israeli and U.S. imperialists to maintain and expand their grip in the region, including Israel's domination of southern Lebanon and occupation of Palestine.

Amal and Syria are doing the imperialists' dirty work. Every blow delivered to the Palestinian movement — which for the last two decades has been playing a vanguard role in the liberation struggles of the Arab peoples — only emboldens the warmongers in Tel Aviv and Washington. It assures further imperialist violence, including against Syria and Amal.

The scope of the latest massacres has caused a rift between the Syrian government and leaders of those PLO factions that, under Syria's prodding, have carried out armed attacks against Palestinians who support the PLO majority led by Yassir Arafat.

Abu Musa, for example, a leader of one of the main pro-Syrian groups, said, "To say that the war is against Arafat is wrong. Our people in the camps are being killed and we shall not tolerate that."

Libya's president, Col. Muammar el Qaddafi, a supporter of Syria's anti-PLO operations, has also criticized Amal's attacks on the camps.

PLO chairman Arafat has called on the UN's Security Council and the Arab League to take steps to end what he called "the massacre of the Palestinians" at the hands of Amal and the 6th Brigade. He held a press conference in Amman, the capital of Jordan, to denounce the attack. And he has called an emergency meeting of the PLO's Central Council to discuss the siege.

Supporters of the Palestinian liberation struggle should denounce this latest blow to the fight against imperialism in the Middle East and call for an end to the attack on the camps.

Behind Rome trial of Bulgarians

The trial in Rome intended to establish the complicity of the Bulgarian government in the 1981 assassination attempt against the pope is rapidly growing more bizarre. But the political purpose behind the trial is deadly serious.

The aim is to smear the Bulgarian government, and by implication, the Soviet government, as responsible for "international terrorism."

The prosecution's claim in the Rome trial, which opened May 27, is that three Bulgarians joined in a conspiracy with five Turks to kill the pope. Two of the three Bulgarians were members of the Bulgarian diplomatic staff in Rome at the time of the attempted killing, and the third was the local manager of the Bulgarian national airline.

The airline employee, Sergei Antonov, is the only one of the accused Bulgarians in Italian custody.

The Italian government's case is based almost entirely on the unsubstantiated word of Mehmet Ali Agca, who was seized immediately after shooting and wounding the pope in July 1981. Agca is now serving a life term.

Initially, Agca asserted he acted alone. Then, after his conviction, he came up with the story that Bulgarian diplomats were the masterminds of an international conspiracy to do the pope in and that he, Agca, had been hired by them to pull the trigger.

A member of a fascist party, Agca had been doing time

in Turkey for murdering a left-wing editor there.

He then mysteriously escaped from prison and was supposedly hired by the Bulgarian secret police to do in the pope. Why they would entrust such an assignment to a rabid anticommunist was not explained.

One after another, Agca's "facts" have been exploded by independent investigation.

Simply consider his pretrial assertions against Antonov, the Bulgarian airline employee. Agca claimed he met with him in the presence of his wife and daughter. Antonov's lawyers have produced visa and hotel documentation, authenticated by the Yugoslav government, confirming that the wife and daughter were in Yugoslavia at the time.

The only piece of tangible evidence against Antonov was a photo purporting to show him on the scene when the pope was shot. It was later learned that the person in the photo was a U.S. tourist.

Agca described Antonov as having a beard and mustache. Antonov does have a mustache, but it's been proven that at the time he was supposedly meeting with Agca he was clean-shaven. He grew the mustache after Agca was in solitary.

The stench surrounding this political frameup simply confirms that in combatting "communism," anything goes.

Capitalism and hungry children

Nearly 14 million children are the victims of poverty in this country, the overwhelming majority of them Black and Latino.

The figures, compiled by congressional researchers, offer stark testimony to the price working people pay for a racist, sexist, capitalist system.

The study found that 46.7 percent of Black children suffer poverty. Among Latino children, it's 38.2 percent. For white children the figure is 17 percent.

During the past decade poverty among children "has grown deeper and more widespread," the study found.

Between 1978 and 1983, the total number of children in the population declined by 9 million. But the number of impoverished children grew by 3 million.

Moreover, the poverty has grown more extreme.

In 1968, the poorest fifth of all families had, on the average, 91 percent of the income they needed to meet their basic needs, the report said. But by 1983, the figure had dropped to 60 percent of such needs.

Heavy responsibility for this increase in hunger rests directly with the government, which has systematically

slashed welfare benefits for those in need.

Since 1971 the buying power of welfare and food-stamp benefits has been cut by 22 percent.

News accounts of the study mention no figures for Asian or other nonwhite children.

In considering the figures, it should be kept in mind that they are based on the government's extremely narrow definition of poverty. In 1983 a family of four was classified as poor if it had a weekly cash income of \$195 or less.

The fact that poverty is becoming deeper and more widespread when the business cycle is in an upturn testifies to the bankruptcy of the capitalist system, a system where poverty and profits march hand in hand.

Because of their race and/or sex, people are denied decent jobs, homes, education, adequate birth-control and abortion facilities, and proper medical care. The result is 13.8 million children suffering hunger and deprivation.

If for no other reason than this, capitalism should be abolished.

José Martí replies to 'Radio Martí'

When the U.S. government initiated a radio station to beam counterrevolutionary propaganda into Cuba, it crowned this provocative act with the political obscenity of calling it "Radio Martí."

A gifted poet, essayist, and political journalist, José Martí was a revolutionary democrat and an uncompromising fighter for Cuban independence. His example, and writings, provided powerful inspiration for the victorious Cuban revolution of 1959.

When Cuba's war for independence from Spain first erupted in 1868, Martí actively supported it. He was jailed in 1869 and exiled to Spain in 1871. Afterwards he lived in Mexico, Guatemala, and Venezuela. But most of his exile — from 1880 to 1895 — was spent in the United States.

In 1895, with Cuba's new war for independence from Spain, Martí immediately returned home to bear arms. On May 19, 1895, he died in battle.

In 1982, soon after Reagan first proposed the radio project, the Center for Studies on José Martí in Havana published *José Martí Replies*, a compilation of excerpts from his articles and letters from the United States. The following is a sampling.

* * *

A political aristocracy has been born in this financial aristocracy, and it controls the newspapers, wins elections, and usually imposes its will in assemblies. . . . — *La Opinión Nacional*, Caracas, Nov. 26, 1881.

The monopoly is seated, like an implacable giant, at the door of all poor people. All undertakings are in the

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

hands of invincible corporations formed by the association of idle capital, against whose influence and resistance an individual producer . . . doesn't stand a chance. . . . This industrial country has an industrial tyrant. This problem, which I have sketched only in passing, may be one . . . that cannot be solved in peace, and it must be decided here where it appears. . . . — *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, Oct 26, 1884.

These birds of prey form syndicates, offer dividends, buy eloquence and influence, surround Congress with invisible snares . . . and, colossal robbers all, hoard and divide their gains in secret.

They are always the same: sordid, puffed up with pride, coarse, their shirt fronts covered with diamonds. Senators visit them by back doors; cabinet members visit them in the quiet hour after the working day is over; millions of dollars pass through their hands. They are private bankers. . . . These fiendish men who build their fortunes on the anxieties and hatreds of the people should be publicly dragged through the streets, barefoot and with shaved heads! — *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, Oct 4, 1885.

The worker, who is an Atlas here, is growing tired of bearing the world on his shoulders and seems determined to shake it off and look for a way of advancing without so much toil. — *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, May 4, 1887.

Now we see close at hand what *La Nación* has seen for several years: the people's republic is being changed into a republic of classes; the privileged, powerful with their wealth, defy, exasperate, squeeze and expel from the free square of life those who come to it with nothing but their labor and intelligence; the rich are on one side and the poor on the other; the rich band together and the poor do too. — *La Nación*, May 17, 1888.

Once the United States is in Cuba, who will drive them out? Or why must Cuba remain in America . . . not as the genuine and capable nation it is but an artificial nationality created for a strategic purpose? I want a more secure foundation for my people. — Letter to Gonzalo de Quesada, Oct. 29, 1889.

Our land . . . is threatened by another, more evil plan. . . . It is the iniquitous one of forcing the Island — precipitating it — into war, so as to create a pretext for intervening and, as mediator and guarantor of peace, staying in. . . . Why should we die to benefit those who push us to our death? Our lives are worth more, and the Island must learn this in time. And there are Cubans — Cubans! — who, with hypocritical displays of patriotism, serve these interests! — Letter to Gonzalo de Quesada, Dec. 14, 1889.

They believe in the invincible superiority of "the Anglo-Saxon race over the Latin." They believe in the inferiority of the Negroes, whom they enslaved yesterday and are criticizing today, and of the Indians, whom they are exterminating. . . . Is political and economic union with the United States in the interests of Spanish America? — *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*, May 1891.

Every day I risk my life for my country and my duty . . . to win Cuba's independence in time to keep the United States from expanding through the Antilles and falling with greater force upon our American lands. . . . I have lived in the monster, and I know its entrails; my sling is that of David. — Letter to Manuel Mercado, May 18, 1895 [the day before his death].

'BEST' contracts mean wage, benefit cuts for workers

BY JOE ALLOR

ST. LOUIS — The 1985 United Auto Workers (UAW) contract with the Chrysler Corp. is coming up on October 15. I'd like to relate how the "new Chrysler" is trying to prepare us for those negotiations.

It all started with the red, white, and blue buttons and patches on coveralls and baseball caps that say, "To be

UNION TALK

the BEST." "BEST" is a company acronym for "Building Employment Security Together." The idea is that the union and the company should work together for high productivity, zero product defects, no absenteeism, and if not lower wages, then frozen wages. In some minds, mostly management's, this will increase job security — especially for workers with a lot of seniority.

Most of my coworkers have been taking this campaign for the joke that it is. People say, "They got it all wrong. We already are the best."

At the end of April, however, the company put up a letter on the bulletin board that also later appeared in

Chrysler Times, the corporate magazine. This letter explains what "BEST" is really about. The letter describes a takeback contract imposed on Chrysler workers in Dayton, Ohio.

The Dayton workers are organized by the International Union of Electronic Workers, but the company sees them as a fine example for UAW members going into our own contract negotiations. Briefly, the contract calls for a two-tier wage scheme. New hires will now receive only 57 percent of full wage during the first five years of employment. After the fifth year, the "new" hires' rate progresses to about 73 percent of the current full wage. Wage increases will be paid in semiannual bonuses, and the full rate will be reached after 10 years of service. There will be no cost-of-living allowance (COLA). Benefits will be "phased in." The new workers won't receive full benefits like Blue Cross until after they complete the 10 years of what is in essence economic probation.

The only exception is in the skilled trades. Skilled-trade wage rates will be the same for new hires as for current skilled-trades workers. Only benefits will be reduced.

This contract is a blatant attack on the unions. It is also another attempt to divide the union between skilled and

production workers.

The contract also provides a special incentive pay for seniority workers to quit their jobs or retire early if eligible in order to create job openings for new workers. The aim is clear: to have as few employees under the old contract as possible.

In the midst of this antiunion "BEST" campaign, the company is also trying to soften up workers. Lee Iaccoca, Chrysler president, gave a \$500 bonus that turned out to be \$350 after taxes. This was a slap in the face to workers who lost thousands of dollars in the 1979 takeback contract. My local union put out a button answering Iaccoca that says, "Lee got his, we want ours."

The BEST scheme is not a new concept. It is the same old antilabor concept of the bosses. To really fight back we need increased unity and solidarity between high and low seniority workers, as well as skilled and production workers. We need to stick together and take a stand against these attacks and demand a fair contract.

Joe Allor is a member of UAW Local 110. He has worked for Chrysler for 17 years, first in Detroit and now at its Fenton, Missouri, plant.

NYC Vietnam vet parade pushes prowar propaganda

BY CAPPY KIDD

NEW YORK — Militant readers have no doubt read about the very successful May 5 meeting in New York City celebrating the 10th anniversary of Vietnam's victory over U.S. intervention. I'd like to speak about the

AS I SEE IT

other 10th anniversary rally, the one organized in New York City on May 7 by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the mayor's office.

Built with unlimited resources, banner headlines, and the biggest fireworks display since the bicentennial, this rally was intended to do more than pay tribute to the sacrifices of the Vietnam vets. The organizers used this rally to rewrite the history of the Vietnam War and to create the illusion that another war of the Vietnam type would enjoy wide support here at home.

The message they hoped would stick was the often-re-

peated lie that U.S. troops could have won that war if they had just been allowed to.

The organizers succeeded to a large extent in getting their message across. This was a prowar, beat-the-drum, get-in-line rally, but it was also something else.

For the veterans, it was a chance to have their day in the sun, to be recognized by a ticker-tape parade as were the veterans of past wars. I sensed elements of regimental 10-year reunions, with old buddies retiring for a beer as soon as they completed the march.

Some of the veterans carried signs protesting cuts in veterans benefits and calling for support of Agent Orange victims. A very small percentage wore antiwar buttons on their fatigues. Groups such as Vietnam Vets Against the War refused to participate.

It was ironic that the Wall Street business district was temporarily renamed the Canyon of Heroes. I couldn't help but feel that these men were being used by the same forces that had used them 10 years before.

I thought about the significance of the size of the demonstration. The 25,000 vets who marched represented

probably less than the total number of vets who reside in New York City alone.

The turnout certainly didn't convince me that the American people were ready for a new Vietnam in Central America. To the contrary, a few hours after the vets parade ended, forces opposed to the war moves in Central America held a spirited picket to protest the economic sanctions against Nicaragua.

This picket of more than 1,000 was built in less than a week — without the help of the local media and the attraction of fireworks. It included some vets who came from the parade.

One vet carried a sign indicating the year he was in Vietnam and his battalion. Written across it was "never again." Others came wearing all or parts of their old uniforms or wearing the button produced to commemorate the vets parade — as they picketed against a new war in Central America.

I think that the vets parade represents part of an ideological offensive by the rulers in this country to win working people's support for their war in Central America. The U.S. rulers certainly haven't won the battle.

LETTERS

Unionists protest

A delegation of New York City trade union leaders reports it got "a shocking insight into the thinking of Chile's dictators" following an April 11 meeting with Oscar Parades, Chile's ambassador to the United Nations.

The union delegation had presented the ambassador with a statement demanding an investigation of the brutal kidnap-murder of three Chilean rights activists whose bodies were found on March 30 on the outskirts of Santiago, Chile, with their throats slit. They include Manuel Guerrero, a leader of the teachers union; Jose Parada, a sociologist; and Santiago Nattino Allende, a draftsman.

Other demands by the delegation include an end to the state of siege and restoration of democracy in Chile; release of all political prisoners, and the right of union leaders and workers to organize, strike, and elect leaders of their own choosing.

A press release circulated by American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 3882 reported Parades' response as follows: "Chile's ambassador declared in the course of the meeting on April 11 that 'the greatest mistake' of his government 'was not to have killed all the people' detained in the National Stadium in Santiago during the 1973 coup which overthrew the elected government of Socialist Salvador Allende. Over 20,000 people were detained in the stadium at that time."

Members of the union delegation present to hear Parades' bloodthirsty response included Henry Foner, president Local 1, Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers; Sam Meyers, president Local

259, United Auto Workers; Peter Schnall, president Local 15, National Association of Broadcasting Employees and Technicians; and Robert Shaffer, secretary, American Federation of Teachers Local 3882.

Speaking on behalf of the delegation, Henry Foner told the Chilean Ambassador that the union movement will mount massive protests at the Chilean consulate if murders of Chilean labor leaders continue.

More information on this union action can be obtained by contacting me at AFT Local 3882, phone number (212) 598-3790 (days).

Robert Shaffer
New York City

'Sanctuary city'

Any attempt to overturn an April 8 city council vote here declaring Cambridge, Massachusetts, a "sanctuary city" failed to materialize at the body's April 22 meeting. Pressure from supporters of the right to asylum flooded local officials with calls, letters and petitions demanding the original decision be left intact.

The initial April 8 vote divided the city council 5-4. It mandated that no city employees cooperate with the Immigration and Naturalization Service or other federal officials in activities against undocumented workers.

Cambridge mayor Leonard Russell had voted against the proposal before a packed hall of more than 200 people, the overwhelming majority of them supporters of the decision.

Among those who testified in behalf of the municipal legislation were Salvadoran refugees, who, like other politically persecuted

foreign workers in the crowd — Guatemalans, Haitians, and others — wore bandanas to conceal their faces.

One Salvadoran refugee, currently hosted in sanctuary by the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, testified her "crime" in El Salvador had been to be "a union organizer." For such activity, she said, she was captured and tortured three times, raped, and threatened with death.

Jean Claude Martineau, a prominent Haitian activist, countered the claim that the 12,000 or more Central American and Caribbean undocumented workers living in the Boston area — 5,000 in Cambridge — were "economic refugees."

"I will not deny that Haiti has economic problems," he said. "Unemployment is 56 percent. But we also have political repression. The last elections held in Haiti were 26 years ago. These two problems are inseparable. When U.S. corporations flock to Haiti where they can pay workers \$3 a day because the Ton Ton Macoute [Haitian death squads] terrorize us from organizing ourselves, then economic and political problems are one."

Other cities that have taken similar votes include Berkeley, California; Chicago; and St. Paul, Minnesota.

Mark Stevenson

Jon Hillson

Boston, Massachusetts

Political economy

In his famous "Critique of Political Economy," Marx wrote, "No type of social structure ever perishes until there have been developed all the productive forces



for which it has room. . . ."

Is this principle of Marx still considered valid? If it is, then the next question is this: Is the United States and the rest of the capitalist West still expanding their productive forces?

If their productive forces are still expanding, doesn't this mean that socialism is not really possible at present?

A reader
Brooklyn, New York

'Militant' study group

I am presently incarcerated at San Quentin State Prison, in one of the nine lock-up units here. I have had the privilege, as have many other men here, of reading the *Militant* newspaper. We have a group in our exercise yard in which we study and debate various political issues and we use the *Militant* for reference.

Most of us are in agreement with your stance on the major is-

ssues of the day. The member of our group who gets the *Militant* is transferring, so I am requesting a subscription for our group through your prisoners fund. Keep up your outstanding work in printing the truth!

A prisoner
San Quentin, California

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Alabama abortion-rights victory

Antiabortion terrorist convicted for attack on clinic

BY ANDREA BARON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — In an important victory for abortion rights, Edward Markley, the Catholic priest who attacked an abortion clinic here, was convicted of two felony charges on April 30. A jury found the priest guilty of criminal mischief and second-degree burglary for the sledgehammer attack at the Birmingham Women's Medical Clinic in May 1984, which destroyed thousands of dollars worth of equipment.

This is Markley's third conviction for attacks on clinics. He was also convicted on two assault charges for an attack on a Huntsville, Alabama, clinic last year. While the latest charges carry a maximum sentence of 30 years' imprisonment, Markley has received suspended sentences in both prior convictions. Sentencing will be June 28.

Supporters of women's rights here have campaigned for the arrest and prosecution of Markley and the others responsible for the continuing harassment, threats, and violent attacks on clinics and staff members.

This conviction will have a big impact on the fight to defend the right to safe, legal abortion from right-wing attack. The trial and conviction received wide media coverage in Alabama.

The right-wing forces immediately escalated their antiabortion campaign. Joseph Scheidler, head of the Pro-Life Action League and author of a manual of terror tactics to be used against abortion clinics, came to Birmingham. He announced to the media that he planned a rally and would "go into the clinics" on Saturday, May 11.

Greater Birmingham National Organization for Women quickly organized supporters to provide patient escorts and pickets at the two clinics that have been the focus of right-wing attacks.

Scheidler addressed a rally of about 100 people, urging them to continue the campaign of violence. He told them to stop being "passive" and to aggressively seek to close down all abortion clinics.

The group then marched to the clinics. The right-wingers shook their fists and signs and screamed at those on the clinic grounds. Markley himself joined the right-wingers who stood on the sidewalk and harassed women entering the clinic.

Clinic supporters, while outnumbered by the marchers, blocked the clinic entrance and kept up a spirited chant of "Keep abortion safe and legal." One called, "Take your sledgehammers and go home."

When the antiabortion group placed a wreath in front of the clinic "for the dead babies," Belinda Henson, director of the clinic, stood in front of Markley and Scheidler and said, "We appreciate these flowers in memory of all the women who have died from illegal abortions."

One picket explained, "While some of the people who stand outside the clinics waving gory pictures may be confused about the issues involved, Markley, Scheidler, and the other leaders are not. They have made clear that this is an antiwoman campaign. They have made clear that they intend to escalate the campaign of violent attacks on clinics and abortion-rights supporters. They are intent upon wiping out the right to legal abortion and other important gains of the women's movement."

The women and men who came out to defend the clinics also made very clear their determination to counter this campaign by mobilizing supporters of women's rights and continuing activities to defend a woman's right to control her body.

The Alabama Women's Agenda and Greater Birmingham NOW organized a



One of many abortion clinics that has recently been attacked by antiabortionists. Convicted Alabama antiabortion terrorist, Rev. Edward Markley (insert).

speaking-out on abortion at the Unitarian Church on May 14. It was part of a national day of actions called by the National Abortion Rights Action League. About 30 people attended.

The speaking-out was built around testimonials of Alabama women who chose to have abortions. Introducing the speakers, Virginia Volker of the Alabama Women's Agenda said, "Abortion is an event in the lives of women we know: our mothers, grandmothers, sisters, daughters, friends. We feel we can be silent no more."

The testimonials that followed covered a range of experiences, from that of a bat-

tered wife who had a traumatic illegal abortion in 1968, to that of a mother whose daughter had to endure harassment from right-wingers picketing a women's health clinic in 1984. One woman who had helped a friend get an abortion said, "The more I am aware of the issue, the more committed I am to the struggle for a safe and legal abortion."

Another young woman got to the heart of the antiabortion attacks: "This campaign has nothing to do with killing babies," she said. "It is about killing women. Who gains from this hysteria to hurt women? Who profits?"

Minneapolis students demand 'Divest now'

BY LISA AHLBERG

MINNEAPOLIS — Students at the University of Minnesota stepped up protests in early May demanding that the university divest \$34.5 million invested in South Africa. Support has grown to include many student, faculty, and community groups. A new coalition has been formed: Coalition for University Divestment from South Africa (CUDSA), including such groups as the African Students Association, Progressive Students Organization, Faculty Committee for Divestment, Women's Studies Department, National Black Independent Political Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Minnesotans Against Apartheid.

A series of protests, including a five-day occupation of the university president's outer office, forced the Board of Regents to hold a special meeting on May 15 to hear from students and faculty opposed to university investments in South Africa. Students were led to believe that the meeting would have authority to vote on divestment, however a quorum was not present.

A protest rally preceding the regents' meeting blasted the university's support to the South African system of apartheid. At the rally, Enoch Duma, an exiled South African journalist, explained that U.S. investments help to maintain apartheid no matter what the stated intentions of the investments are. "People in South Africa who have struggled with their lives for freedom are against investment. You can't condemn apartheid and at the same time invest in the South African economy. . . . The businesses are there to prop up apartheid. Investments are not in the interests of Blacks, they're there for their self-interest."

A message was read to the rally from Bob Killeen, sub-regional director of the United Auto Workers, demanding that "the U of M immediately divest all funds that contribute to the South African economy. . . . The UAW pledges its support to Black South African workers."

Chanting "Divest now," students then marched to Coffman Union, where the meeting with the regents took place. Some 400 students and faculty packed the room to make their arguments for divestment.

Student leader Heidi Adelman opened the meeting stating, "We can no longer — not for one more day — peacefully sit back, knowing that our institution, the University of Minnesota, supports and profits from a legalized system of discrimination and oppression. We demand total divestiture — now!"

Currently, university policy prohibits it from investing in companies that do not adhere to the Sullivan Principles (a pledge by U.S. corporate owners to eliminate segregation in their plants in South Africa). Students argued that the principles are used to rationalize investments. Duma explained, "These principles have been rejected by the Blacks in South Africa. They are designed to appease critics of apartheid in the international community."

Solidarity messages were read from community representatives. Ron Edwards of the Minneapolis Urban League accused the university of maintaining a racist policy. "You don't have to go to South Africa to understand the issue. You can go to Detroit to find out about racist infant-mortality rates, you can go to Philadelphia to find

out about racist police attacks, and you can come to the U of M to find out about deceit."

At the end of the meeting, four of the 12 regents said they would vote to divest when the issue comes up at their June 13 meeting.

The coalition is planning a series of events to mount pressure on the university. An all day teach-in is scheduled for Monday, June 3, to build support for divestment. A rally has been called for Wednesday,

June 5, at Morrill Hall.

On June 13, the day the regents will vote, a rally is being planned and the coalition is urging a large turnout. CUDSA is urging that messages from solidarity, church, Black, and labor organizations be sent to the regents demanding the university divest its interests in companies with holdings in South Africa. Messages can be sent to: U of M Board of Regents, c/o CUDSA; U of M, 5 Temporary North of Appleby; 122 Pleasant St. S.E.; Minneapolis, Minn. 55455.

National women miners meeting scheduled for June 21-23

The Seventh National Conference of Women Miners will take place June 21-23 in Price, Utah. The conference is sponsored by the Coal Employment Project, which helps women get and keep mining jobs, and by the Coal Mining Women's Support Team. The Lady Miners of Utah is hosting the event, which will be held at the College of Eastern Utah.

The conference is backed by the United Mine Workers (UMW), whose international secretary-treasurer, John Banovic, is a featured speaker. UMW members are expected to attend from most of the union's districts, many of them as delegates from their locals. Frances Farley, a former Utah state senator, is also a keynote speaker.

The three-day conference has plenary sessions and workshops on a variety of topics, including "Communicating with Con-

fidence," "Continuing the Campaign for Parental Leave," "Rights and Responsibilities as Miners in Every Mine," "Documenting the Moment: The Story of Women Hard Rock Miners," and "Occupational Health Hazards in Mines and Refineries." Also, "UMWA Issues in the '80s," "Organizing and Maintaining a Support Group," "How to Deal with Race and Sex Discrimination in the Workplace," and "Overview of all Types of Mining, Technologies and Equipment."

There will be reports given by women miners who have visited other countries, videos, and labor history events.

To register for the conference, contact the Coal Employment Project, 16221 Sunny Knoll Court, Dumfries, Virginia 22026.